DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 065 414 SO 003 727

AUTHOR	Patrick, John J.; Glenn, Allen D.
TITLE	The Young Voter: A Guide to Instruction About Voter Behavior and Elections.
INSTITUTION	National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	72
NOTE	157p.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 ($3.25)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Citizenship; *Civics; *Elections; *Political Issues; Political Science; Political Socialization; Politics; Public Affairs Education; Resource Guides; Secondary Grades; *Social Studies; Teaching Guides; *Voting
IDENTIFIERS	Eighteen Year Old Vote

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this volume is to provide information and ideas which might contribute to the improvement of secondary school instruction about voter behavior and elections. The focus is on the real political world and why people behave as they do. Facts and ideas are drawn from the work of social scientists, and the questions raised are those that have guided social scientists in their analyses of voter behavior. In Chapters 1-5 fundamental questions about elections and voter behavior are raised, pertinent facts and ideas are discussed, and sample lessons are presented. In all, there are nine sample lessons. They cover a variety of topics; and some teach specific skills. One lesson, for example, focuses on reading and interpreting political polls. Others are case studies of political situations. The Appendix is a guide to books, periodicals, films, and simulations about voter behavior. These materials can be used as background material for the teacher or to enrich instruction. (JLB)

Teaching Social Studies in an Age of Crisis – No. 3

The Young Voter

A Guide To Instruction About Voter Behavior And Elections

John J. Patrick
and
Allen D. Glenn

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By JOHN J. PATRICK
AND
ALLEN D. GLENN

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NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
A National Affiliate of the National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
Price $3.25

Teaching Social Studies in an Age of Crisis—No. 3
SERIES EDITORS: Daniel Roselle and Willadene Price

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NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 72-80690

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JUN 21 1972

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Several people deserve recognition for their contributions to the development of this volume. Daniel Roselle, editor of SOCIAL EDUCATION, initiated the project and offered encouragement and useful advice.

Merrill Hartshorn, executive secretary of NCSS, provided sources of information and useful suggestions about how to organize the volume.

Judith Gillespie, Co-Director of the High School Political Science Curriculum Project at Indiana University, selected the simulations and games which are recommended to social studies teachers in the Appendix.

Isaac Kruger, graduate student at the University of Minnesota, and James Cady, graduate student at Indiana University, provided valuable assistance as library researchers.

We are grateful to the several publishers, authors, and cartoonists who allowed us to use their work in this volume.

Finally, we thank our wives, Patricia and Sandy, for creating conditions which facilitated our work.

PREFACE

Our main purpose in writing this volume was to provide information and ideas which might contribute to the improvement of secondary-school instruction about voter behavior and elections. We have attempted to raise important questions and to present concisely pertinent findings of social scientists. We have designed sample lessons and a guide to materials which we believe can serve the goal of improving instruction about politics. We hope that our work contributes to the development of political knowledge, sophistication, and efficacy among young Americans.

JOHN J. PATRICK
ALLEN D. GLENN

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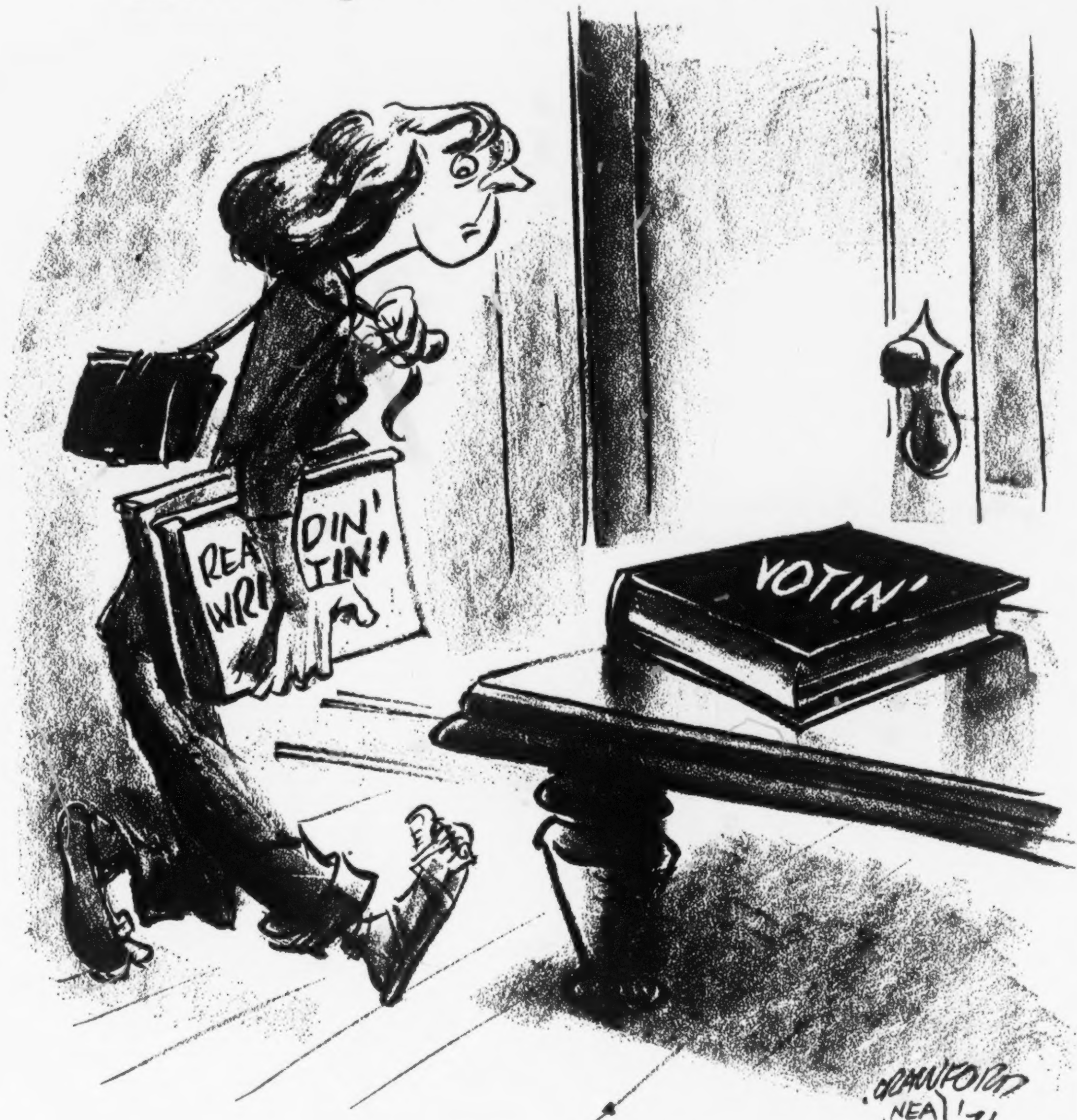
Something New on the Curriculum


READIN'
WRITIN'
VOTIN'
CRAWFORD
NEA '71

What and how should high school students be taught about voter behavior and elections? *Reprinted by permission of Newspaper Enterprise Association.*

INTRODUCTION

TEACHING ABOUT VOTER BEHAVIOR AND ELECTIONS

Learning about politics should be a basic part of every youngster's education. Acquiring knowledge about elections and voter behavior is an especially important aspect of political learning. Voting is a means of political participation open to most individuals in our society, and elections can have crucial consequences for individuals and social groups.

Today's youngsters are likely to be more interested than those of the past in acquiring knowledge about elections and voting. Over eleven million youth, ages 18-20, were enfranchised with the passage of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment of the Constitution. Nearly one million of these new young voters are high school students. What and how should high school students, especially the new young voters, learn about elections and voting in the social studies classroom?

A. How to Improve Instruction About Elections and Voter Behavior

Teaching successfully about elections and voter behavior has been difficult. Typical instructional materials available to teachers have been bland and misleading.[1] The legalistic aspects of elections and voting have been discussed amply. Preachments about civic virtue and political participation have been highlighted. However, the socio-cultural foundations of voter behavior and elections have been ignored. Findings of social scientists about patterns of voter behavior have been underplayed or omitted from most widely-used instructional materials.

The following guidelines are presented to social studies teachers as aids to the improvement of instruction about voter behavior and elections. These guidelines can also serve as aids to the appraisal of commercially-prepared instructional materials.[2]

First, basic questions about elections and voter behavior should be foci for discussion and inquiry in the social studies classroom. For example, the following basic questions should be central to the high school student's study of voting and elections: (a) What is the impact of voting on public policy decisions? (b) What are the strengths and limitations of the vote as a political resource? (c) What are the likely costs and benefits of particular types of participation in election campaigns? (d) Who should and should not be eligible to participate in public elections? (e) What are the patterns of participation and voter choice in American elections? (f) What accounts for the patterns of political participation of different social groups? (g) How can individuals participate most effectively in public elections?

Second, the findings of social science research should be applied to the study and discussion of basic questions about elections and voter behavior. An explosive development of knowledge and techniques of inquiry has distinguished the work of social scientists interested in elections and voter behavior. The data and propositions developed by social scientists during the past three decades should be the substance of instruction about voter behavior and elections.

Third, students should be taught to apply skills of critical thinking and inquiry to the management of data and the appraisal of hypotheses about elections and voter behavior. Students should learn how to organize and interpret data and how to determine the grounds for confirmation or rejection of propositions about elections and voter behavior. Teachers must be prepared to systematically teach students basic skills. Following the acquisition of these skills, opportunities must be available for students to apply these skills to new situations. Students must practice what they have learned.

Widely-used instructional materials have provided little help to those interested in developing skills of critical thinking and inquiry. For example, students need to know how to critically read and appraise public opinion polls in order to understand much current election news. Yet the traditional civics course has offered little to help students become skilled readers of tables or graphs, users of data, or appraisers of polling techniques.

Fourth, students should be exposed to controversial political topics and should be taught to assess discrepancies between ideals and reality. Superficial treatment of the conflicts, competitions, and compromises, which are essential to political life in our society, is a major fault of traditional civics courses. Students, especially at the secondary level, are quite aware of the discrepancies between superficial and idealistic textbook accounts and political realities. The antiseptic view of government and political life which is presented in most texts makes little sense to many young people today. This lack of a real-world orientation has denied many young adults the knowledge and skills necessary to make intelligent decisions about political questions. Students are led to rather naive views about their political resources and then become disillusioned when they find it not as "easy" to influence political decisions as they were once told. Many youth in the late 1960's had rather simplistic views of political life. Their first experiences in politics left many alienated from any further participation. Students need to know why the political system is the way it is, where it might be going, and how they can influence its direction.

Fifth, students should have the opportunity to develop ability to rationally consider value claims and to make reasoned value judgments about elections and voter behavior. Students need instructional opportunities to relate their studies of what is, and what has been, to the consideration of questions about what ought to be. Students must be taught to distinguish factual judgments from value judgments and to link value judgments to careful consideration of what is and what might be.

Sixth, students should be engaged actively in the learning process. Students who are required to respond actively to information and ideas are more likely than passive students to learn their lessons quickly and to remember them. Students who are required to apply facts and concepts to new situations reinforce learning and refine comprehension. Excellent examples of instruction which elicit active learning are lessons which require students to analyze case studies, to use data to test hypotheses, or to assume roles in a simulation.

B. How to Use This Volume to Improve Instruction About Elections and Voter Behavior

This volume is a source of information and ideas for teachers who wish to improve their instruction about elections and voter behavior in terms of the guidelines discussed on pages 2 and 3. In Chapters 1–5 fundamental questions about elections and voter behavior are raised, facts and ideas pertinent to these questions are discussed, and sample lessons are presented as exemplars of instruction about elections and voter behavior.

The material presented in the volume is different from the traditional material found in most civics texts. The facts and ideas are drawn from the work of social scientists. The questions raised throughout the text are those which have guided social scientists in their analyses of voter behavior. They are questions that the teacher may use to guide the planning of lessons about voter behavior and elections. The focus is on the real political world and why people behave the way they do.

Teachers may use this volume in several ways. Chapters 1–5 can be used as a guide to current thinking of social scientists about elections and voter behavior. These chapters present a brief, nontechnical review of basic hypotheses and facts.

Teachers may wish to use some of the sample lessons with their students. Nine sample lessons are presented, and they cover a variety of topics. Some teach specific skills. One lesson, for example, focuses on reading and interpreting political polls. Others are case studies of political situations. Another lesson is a case study which provides insight into Presidential campaigns. The sample lessons might also serve as models for the design of lessons by teachers.

The Appendix is a guide to books, periodicals, films, and simulations about elections and voter behavior. These materials can help teachers to improve their understanding of elections and voting, and they can be used to enrich instruction. The films and simulations listed here are highly recommended as instructional materials. The books listed in the Appendix present up-to-date concepts and knowledge in a highly readable form. The periodicals include current data and opinions.

Social studies teachers who want to help their students to become wise voters, and perhaps effective political participants, must assume the responsibility of helping youngsters to acquire knowledge about voter behavior and elections. Ignorance of the electoral process could mean inability to achieve important political goals. This volume contains ideas and information which can facilitate the task of teaching youngsters to become more informed and effective political participants.

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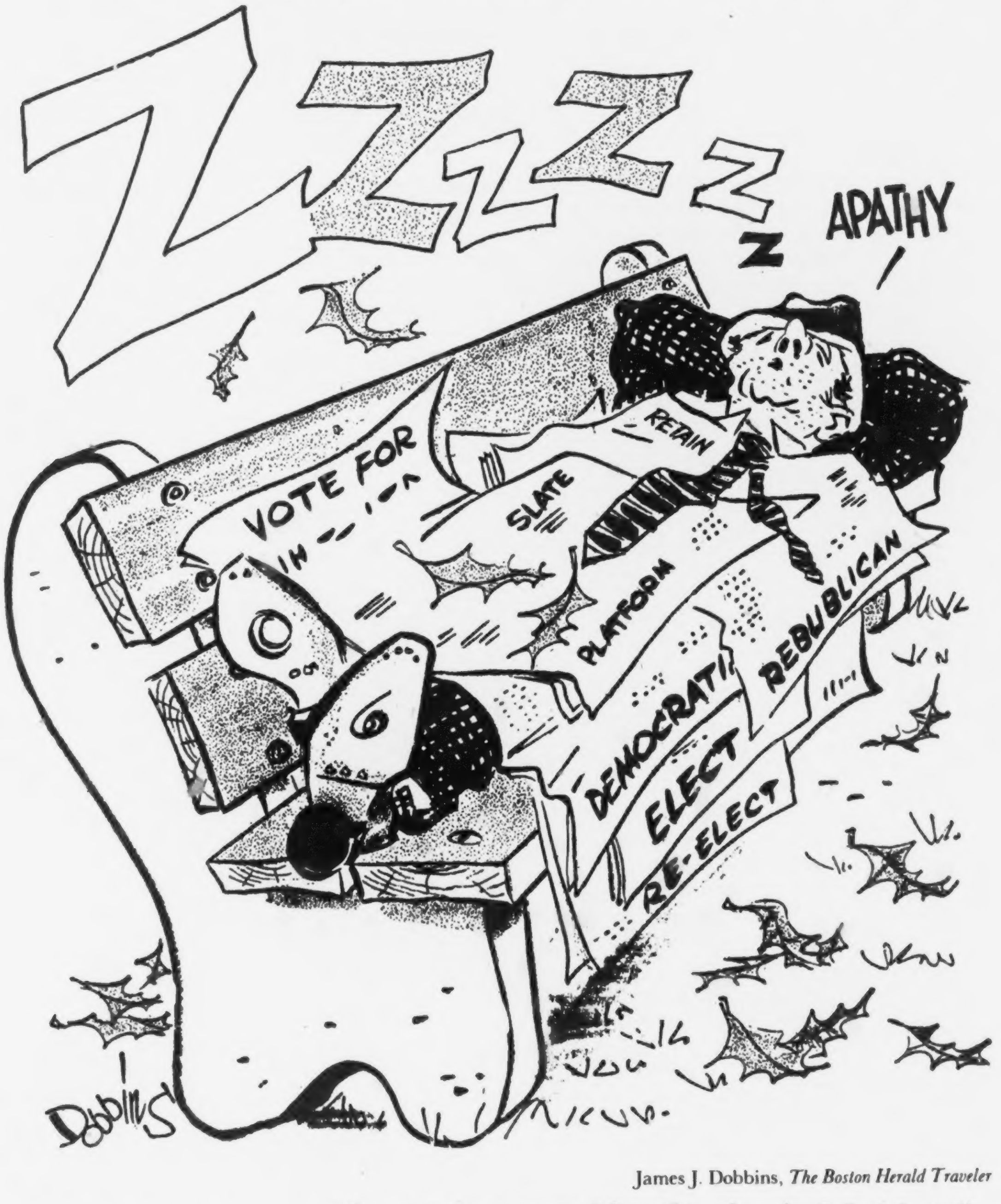
[1] Report of the American Political Science Association Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, *Political Education in the Public Schools, PS: Newsletter of the American Political Science Association*, 4, (Summer, 1971), pp. 431-457. This document presents criticisms of traditional high school courses in government and recommendations for the reconstruction of civic education.

[2] Mary Jane Turner, *Materials for Civics, Government and Problems of Democracy; Political Science in the New Social Studies*, (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., 1971). This volume includes descriptions of the products of several curriculum development projects.

Public Enemy No. 1


ZZZZZZ
APATHY
VOTE FOR
SLATE
RETAIN
PLATFORM
DEMOCRATI
REPUBLICAN
ELECT
RE-ELECT
DOBBINS

James J. Dobbins, *The Boston Herald Traveler*

What are the costs and benefits of voting? Social studies students should have an opportunity to study evidence pertinent to this question. *Reprinted by permission of James J. Dobbins.*

1

WHY VOTE?

Why vote? This is a critical political question in a democratically-oriented society. Many young people in our society are asking themselves this question for the first time. The ideas of many young people about voting, or not voting, may influence the outcome of upcoming Presidential elections. Their answers to the question—why vote?—will affect the tenor of the American polity in the 1970's. Thus, social studies teachers should confront their students with questions and pertinent data about the value of voting in our society.

A. Voting as a Political Resource

One useful way to consider the question—why vote?—is to look at the vote as a *political resource*, the means one person has to control, or direct, the behavior of others. Examples of political resources are time, money, control over jobs, control over means of communication, information, skill in negotiating, and popularity. These examples are only a few of the assets an individual might choose to use as political resources. (See Chapter 5 for an elaborate discussion of the political resources of young voters.)

Political influence and power stem from desire and ability to use political resources. Some people in our society possess more political resources than others; thus, they tend to have more influence and power, more ability to achieve political objectives, than those with less political resources. Some individuals with few political resources try to maximize their potential for influence and power by forming organizations whose members have similar political objectives.

The vote is a political resource which is available to virtually everyone in our society; most Americans value it.[1] Many would even agree with President Lyndon B. Johnson's extreme emphasis upon the power of the vote when he said, after signing the Voting Rights Act of 1965, that "the vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls that imprison men because they are different from other men." However, some Americans contend that voting has little or no impact on the decisions of public officials. For example, the leftist philosopher Herbert Marcuse has argued that the vote is a relatively meaningless political tool.[2]

Is the vote a valuable political resource in our society? To what extent is voting in public elections a means for controlling, or directing, the behavior of others, such as public officials? To what extent does increased political influence and power stem from the astute use of the vote? What is the impact of voting on public policy decisions? Social studies teachers should consider these questions with their students as they explore the value of voting in our society through examination of pertinent evidence.

Most political scientists in the United States agree that the vote is neither an extremely potent determiner of public policies nor an ineffectual political tool. Rather they argue that in the American society the vote is a valuable, if limited, political resource, which can be used to indirectly influence public policy decisions and to reduce the possibility of excesses or abuses on the part of elected public officials. In our society, politicians need votes to gain and maintain public office. Thus, citizens with power to give or withhold votes can influence the general direction of public policy and the outer limits of acceptable political behavior. Public officials in our society who blatantly disregard popular opinion do not remain in office.

In the United States, voters do not have power to control the day-to-day conduct of government, but they can influence the general direction and tenor of government. Politicians are acutely aware that votes really do make a difference, and they respond to the electorate accordingly.

Nelson Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky have expressed beliefs about the vote as a political resource in our society with which most political scientists agree:[3]

> ### THE IMPACT OF ELECTIONS ON PUBLIC POLICY
>
> We would argue that free and competitive elections discourage extreme policies and political leaders and aid in making the political system free, open, and responsive to a great variety of people and groups in the population. But it would not be correct to say that our elections transmit unerringly the policy preferences of electorates to leaders or confer mandates upon leaders with regard to specific policies.
>
> It is easy to be cynical and expect too little from elections, or to be euphoric and expect too much from them. A cynical view would hold that the United States was ruled by a power elite—a small group outside the democratic process. Under these circumstances the ballot would be a sham and a delusion. What difference can it make how voting is carried on or who wins if the nation is actually governed by other means? On the other hand, a euphoric view, holding that the United States was ruled as a mass democracy with equal control over decisions by all or most citizens, would enormously enhance the importance of the ballot. Through the act of casting a ballot, it could be argued, a majority of citizens would determine major national policies. What happened at the polls would not only decide who would occupy public office, it would also determine the content of specific policy decisions. In a way, public office would then be a sham because the power of decisions in important matters would be removed from the hands of public officials. A third type of political system—a pluralist one in which numerous minorities compete for shares in policy-making within broad limits provided by free elections—has more complex implications. It suggests that balloting is important but that it does not often determine individual policy decisions. The ballot both guides and constrains public officials who are free to act within fairly broad limits subject to anticipated responses of the voters and to the desires of the other active participants.
>
> . . . the American political system is of the pluralist type. Public officials do make major policy decisions but elections matter in that they determine which of two competing parties holds public office. In a competitive two-party situation such as exists in American Presidential politics, the lively possibility of change provides an effective incentive for political leaders to remain in touch with followers.
>
> But it would be inaccurate to suggest that voters in Presidential elections transmit their policy preferences to

elected officials with a high degree of reliability. There are few clear mandates in our political system owing to the fact that elections are fought on so many issues and in so many incompletely overlapping constituencies. Often the voters elect officials to Congress and to the Presidency who disagree on public policies. Thus, mandates are not only impossible to identify, but even if they could be identified they might well be impossible to enact because of inconsistency in the instructions issued to officials who must agree on legislation.

Gerald M. Pomper, who has made a detailed study of American elections, has concluded that citizens can use the vote to influence the government meaningfully:[4]

> ### THE MEANINGFUL BALLOT
>
> The effect of elections must be indirect. Initiatives in a democratic system lie not with the voters, but with politicians. . . .
>
> Elections are important as limits on these initiatives. In a theoretical sense, elections are significant not as *power in* government, but as *influence on* government. . . .
>
> To exert their influence, voters have the most obvious and vital sanction: they control the politician's job. They can quickly and bloodlessly dismiss an offensive official and thereby end his power, prestige, and profit. No explanations need be given by the electorate, and no appeal can be taken from its decisions, however arbitrary and capricious. The voters are not informed or interested enough to decide specific policy, but their final control over the politician means that he must make great efforts to satisfy popular needs and notions, wants and whims. . . .
>
> The voters employ their powerful sanction retrospectively. They judge the politician after he has acted, finding personal satisfactions or discontents with the results of these actions. Such judgment is within the competence of the electors. They need not be experts, able to judge the technicalities of law or the merits of contrasting proposals for the future. They need only be able to perceive improvement or deterioration in their personal situation. . . .
>
> The fact of retrospective judgment affects the politician's initiatives as well. Knowing that a day of reckoning is fixed by the calendar, he must strive to make that day pleasant for the voters. Knowing the voters' past attitudes, the parties must plan their future behavior accordingly. Having made promises for which they will be called to account they must seek to fulfill these

pledges. Politicians are free from popular dictation, but not from popular responsibility. . . .

The ballot does not guarantee full responsiveness on the part of rulers. They may misperceive or disregard citizen needs. As the history of the Negro in South and North has demonstrated, other resources are useful, and even necessary, for the full protection of individuals. The limitations of elections can be particularly serious for such socially deprived groups. They are unlikely to have other resources, and their reliance on the ballot must be correspondingly greater. Failure to achieve their goals may cause bitter despair and even rejection of the electoral process, as exemplified by the extreme advocates of "black power."

Elections still remain the primary way of achieving popular goals. Deprived groups with few resources other than their numbers must be aware particularly of the uses of politics. This vital resource must be employed where it is most effective—at the polls. The ballot does not guarantee improvement, but it does create opportunities for the amelioration of social conditions by bringing officials to consider the interests of any significant group. . . .

The evidence . . . does not confirm the most extravagant expectations of popular sovereignty. Neither are elections demonstrably dangerous or meaningless. Most basically, we have found the ballot to be an effective means for the protection of citizen interests. . . .

B. Costs and Benefits of Voting

Deciding whether or not to vote should involve consideration of the costs and the benefits of voting. The costs of voting cannot be determined as exactly as the monetary cost of obtaining a new automobile; nevertheless, everything of value, including voting, has its price. Among the costs of voting are expenditures of time and energy to register and turn out to vote, to become more informed about candidates and issues, and to influence others to vote as you do in order to increase the impact of your vote. Voting perfunctorily, or ritualistically, is not very costly; but voting carefully, on the basis of much information, and trying to influence the votes of others is very costly.

The benefits of voting are both personal and public. The most important benefit to be derived from voting is the possibility of achieving some tangible returns, such as decisions by public officials which are rewarding to an individual or to some social group or cause that he identifies with. Some voters consider casting a ballot to be psychically rewarding; voting makes them feel good because they believe that they have performed a socially useful task. Others who have learned their civics lessons well may feel guilty if they fail to vote.

Certain factors may influence an individual's decision about whether or not to assume the costs of voting. *First, an individual may consider the significance of an election.* Is the outcome important? People who answer negatively are likely to see little value in voting. People who are very concerned about who attains public office are more likely to participate in a public election. Thus, election campaigns which feature very provocative issues or candidates are likely to generate high levels of voter participation.

A second factor which may influence one's decision to vote or not to vote is the likely impact of voting on the outcome of an election. For example, many Democrats in states or localities dominated overwhelmingly by Republicans choose not to vote, since their participation in the election would not have an impact on the outcome. Undoubtedly Republicans in Georgia or in Gary, Indiana, have felt similarly a sense of political futility. In areas where party competition is fierce, voters of both parties are much more likely to believe that their ballots will influence the election outcome; of course, this stimulates voter participation.

A third factor which may influence the degree of voter participation is consideration of the likely comparative costs of voting and non-voting. If the costs of voting are obviously greater than the costs of not voting, then the individual should abstain from participation in an election. However, if the reverse is true, then the individual is foolish to decide not to vote. For example, voters who believe that they can have an impact on government which is favorable to them are very likely to participate in elections. In contrast, voters who believe that government is not likely to be responsive to them, regardless of who is elected to public office, are not likely to participate in elections.

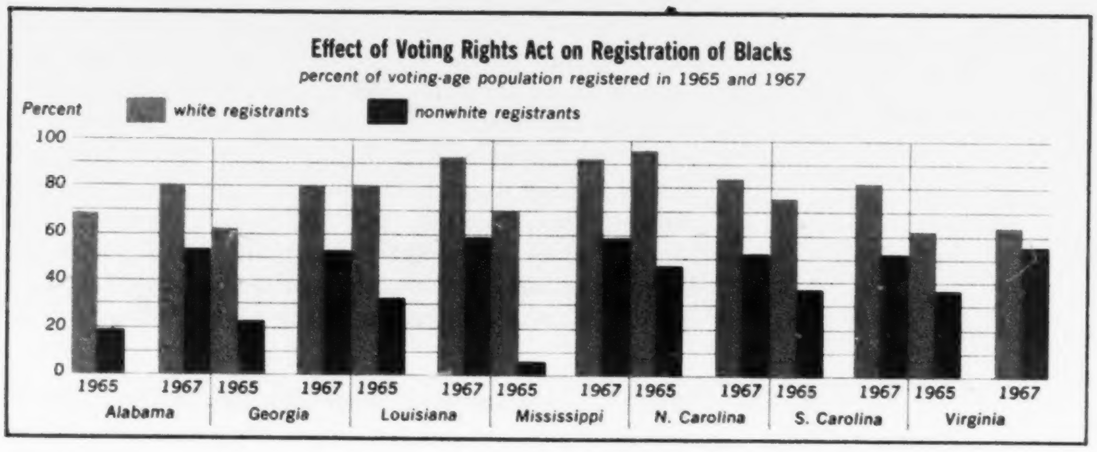
The voter behavior of black people in various parts of the United States is an excellent example of the relationship between the costs and benefits of voting, or not voting. Before the 1960's most black Americans did not participate in public elections; legal restrictions and social pressures were used to restrict the voting power of blacks. The costs for most black people of participating in public elections seemed too high, and most black people abstained. A major political consequence of this non-participation was non-consideration by public officials. In a society where public elections count for something, social groups who are unable to use the ballot count for little or nothing. Thus, the non-voting black people received inferior services from government.

During the 1960's the Federal government enacted major civil rights legislation which protected the voting rights of blacks. In addition, several black civil rights organizations stimulated the political consciousness of many previously apathetic black people. The graph below shows the great impact of the civil rights movement on the voting potential of black Americans. During the 1960's the costs for blacks of not voting began to be higher than the costs of voting. Thus, the voter participation rate of blacks has risen rapidly.

A primary indicator of gain associated with the use of the vote is the vast increase of black public officials during the 1960's. For example, there were less than 200 black public officials in 1960. By 1970, the numbers of black public officials was 1,769. Among these black public officials were 12 U. S. Congressmen, 1 U. S. Senator, 64 Mayors, 33 State Senators, and 172 State Representatives.[5]

Another indicator of increased black political power is the civil rights legislation which has greatly increased the opportunities of black people in education, employment, housing, and the use of public facilities. Certainly these gains were not entirely a result of increased participation in elections. During the 1960's blacks demonstrated high-level political ability; they formed organizations which spearheaded the civil rights movement, and black leaders skillfully bargained for favorable social changes. Voting combined with other political techniques yielded the attainment of political objectives.

Studies of black voting power in local elections indicate that voting has been useful in attaining legal protection and public services. However, the vote has been of little use in achieving social equality or significant economic advancement. It appears that small policy changes are more


Effect of Voting Rights Act on Registration of Blacks

percent of voting-age population registered in 1965 and 1967 likely to be achieved through voting by blacks than are dramatic, fundamental changes.[6]

Black voters have been able to influence government in important, but limited ways. The vote, while a valuable political tool, has not been a means for the achievement of all basic political goals of black Americans. Nonetheless, the vote has been a valuable political tool; most blacks agree that the costs of not voting have become greater than the costs of voting.

The example of the relative costs and benefits of voting of black Americans has significance for politically-minded young voters. For elected public officials, the name of the political game is "votes." No elected public policy maker can afford to ignore the interests and needs of those with potential to terminate his political career. Thus, social groups, through astute use of the ballot, can have an impact on government.

C. Political Stakes of Young Voters

What are the political stakes of young voters and are they worth the costs of extensive political involvement? This is the key question which young voters must ask themselves as they try to decide how extensively to participate in the political process. Political scientist William C. Mitchell believes that the political stakes of young people are very high and that young Americans are keenly aware of them. Mitchell says:

> This current generation of young people is more acutely aware of the impact of government and public policy on people, and on themselves in particular, than any previous generation. Many aspects of their lives contribute to their awareness. A highly unpopular war, fought for the most part by the young, has called attention to the impact of government as has no other event in this century. The often repressive measures taken by government or its agents to control newly-emerging lifestyles have revealed the awesome power of governmental surveillance and control over citizens. Radicals are systematically observed and frequently intimidated. White middle-class youth has lately learned the power of the police as it relates to drug usage and crowd control. The draft, drug control, race, ecology, political action, poverty, and lifestyle issues all involve public policy and government. Dissonance between government and individuals is a clear result of a lag between public policy and individual choice.[7]

Mitchell's commentary pinpoints two main areas of government policy that have direct influence on the life of

22

the young voter. *Economic policies are most obvious.* The young voter in many cases suffers during periods of fiscal difficulty. Young people compared to older voters do not have high incomes and stable employment records. As the economy fluctuates and inflation rises the nearly 6 million 18- to 20-year-olds in the working world are hit particularly hard because they are unskilled, inexperienced, and earn a lower wage. Escalating prices put a strain on their economic security. The relative high cost of housing, entertainment, clothes, and other trappings of the lifestyle of the young pinch already short incomes. Young voters also must pay higher insurance rates, interest, and monthly installments than older voters.

The approximately 4 million college students have a special interest in the economic policies of the government. Today's college students receive substantial subsidies and other advantages from noncollege taxpayers who are paying a large portion of the students' educational expenses. Many students qualify for a variety of government programs such as low interest loans, "work-study" programs, and special training programs—programs that are not available to the general public. Education is a big business with annual costs of nearly $20 billion. One half of this amount comes from the public treasury.

Two additional economic policies affect the young. Taxes on income and various other articles and a special tax in kind, the draft, are most evident. Young voters pay out a large portion of their income to a variety of taxes. If unmarried, a large percent of a salary goes to the Federal government in the form of income taxes and sales taxes on consumer goods such as cars, liquor, cigarettes, and licenses. Property taxes hurt the young voter because a vast majority are apartment dwellers and increased taxes are added to rental payments.

Over 53,000 young Americans have paid the highest form of taxation, their lives. The vast majority of the men who have fought in the Vietnam war were young high-school educated men from low-income families and from smaller cities and rural areas. The draft and service in the war are two of the major burdens borne by young voters.

A final economic policy that influences the young voter is the determination of how governmental monies will be spent on various problems and issues facing society. Many youth want the American economy to become a peacetime economy with major emphasis on solving the ecological problems facing society. Unemployment and retraining for future employment are also important issues.

Policies that affect various rights and powers also *influence the young voter.* The rules that govern the manner in which young voters may participate in the political process have an impact on the amount of influence the young voter may have on the system. Problems associated with registration have led to the disfranchisement of some young people. Policies which facilitate voter registration would enhance the potential influence of young people.

Youth and adults have always been at odds concerning what is an appropriate lifestyle for young people. During the past few years these differences have been more open and many members of society have demanded more "law and order." One result has been an increase in the surveillance and arrest of "hippie types" within the youth culture. The increase in the use of drugs has also caused additional conflicts between generations. In some cases young voters have been harassed and their basic civil rights denied. Such treatment is a high price to pay for a different lifestyle.

These are not all the areas in which young voters have a stake. They are, however, significant examples that demonstrate that there are important stakes for young voters in the existing political system and that it is to the young voter's long-term advantage to attempt to influence policy decisions. Social studies teachers should help their students to assess the costs and rewards of political participation. The likely outcome of this assessment is that young people will decide that the costs of participation are less than the costs of non-involvement, and that the rewards to be achieved through political action are substantial.

D. Sample Lessons for the Social Studies Classroom

Social studies teachers should confront students with questions about the impact of the vote on government and the value of the vote as a political resource. Rather than merely preaching that "voting is people power" or that "good citizens should participate in elections," social studies teachers should help students to think carefully and realistically about the purposes which voting can and cannot serve in our society. A profound understanding of the utility of astute voting in our society can do far more to minimize debilitating political cynicism and voter apathy than high-flown exhortations or sloganeering about voting and civic virtue.

A useful device for introducing realistic discussion about the impact of the vote on government is to confront students with contrasting hypotheses, or models, of the impact of voting on public policy and to require them to make speculative judgments about which of the contrasting views are more or less accurate. (See the following sample lesson.)

Sample Lesson Number One

THREE VIEWS OF THE IMPACT OF VOTING ON PUBLIC POLICY[8]

Following are three descriptions of the impact of voting on public policy. Decide which of the descriptions is the more accurate view of the relationship of voting to the making of public policy. Each of the three descriptions tells us something about the election process in the United States. You are required to decide which of the descriptions is the more accurate picture of reality as indicated in evidence presented previously.

Elections as mandates. Some people view public elections as providing mandates for public policy. A "mandate" authorizes a representative to act in behalf of his constituents. The "mandate" view of public elections holds that elections are great debates over issues between rival candidates. The voters indicate their public policy preferences by voting for the candidate who represents their ideas about the issues debated in the election campaign. Thus, the winning candidate is given a "mandate" by the voters to attempt to enact certain public policies.

The "mandate" view of public elections suggests that voters hold the power to control the policy decisions of public officials. Government is a direct reflection of the wishes of the people. Public officials who violate their "mandates" are turned out of office by dissatisfied and angry voters.

Elections as indirect influencers of public policy. Some people view elections as indirectly influencing, not directly controlling, the policy decisions of public officials. The "indirect influence" view of elections holds that voters control directly the jobs of elected public officials. Thus, these public officials must pay attention to the moods and desires of the voters. However, the masses of voters do not, indeed cannot, indicate specific policy directions to the winning candidates. There are many issues raised in most election campaigns, and different groups of voters usually support the winning candidate for different reasons. Thus, the winning candidate receives a popular endorsement from the voters, in terms of which to make policy, rather than a mandate.

The "indirect influence" view of elections suggests that the elected official is not committed to follow exactly a program of policies indicated specifically by the voters. The voters are not able to dictate exactly what the public official must do. Yet the elected official must always consider the reactions of the voters when making policy decisions, since the voters control the public official's job and can end his political career through the power of the ballot. The need to win public approval in an election serves to restrain, and thereby to influence, the actions of the elected public official.

Elections as rituals. Another view of public elections is that they are basically ritualistic, or ceremonial. The main function of elections and voting is to legitimize the right of public officials to make policy, that is, to make people feel they have helped choose their public officials and to give the people a feeling of political participation so that they will readily accept the authority of public officials. The "ritual" view of elections holds that the voters do not have the opportunity to make meaningful choices between candidates with conflicting ideas about policies. Rather, the rival candidates strive to blur, or disguise, any real differences in beliefs. Thus, the voter must choose candidates on the basis of personality, campaign advertising, or traditional, but thoughtless, political party loyalty.

The "ritual" view of elections suggests that the voter has little or no influence over the making of public policy, since candidates are elected in the absence of meaningful debates about policy questions. The public official is seen as relatively free from the influence of the voters so long as he avoids blunders that could result in a loss of public confidence in his ability.

1. Which of these views of elections is the more accurate account of the impact of voting on public policy: (a) the "mandate" view, (b) the "indirect influence" view, or (c) the "ritual" view. Explain.

2. Which view of elections is most desirable? Explain.

* * * * *

The prevailing view of American political scientists is that the "indirect influence" view is the more accurate account of the impact of voting on public elections. Rather than telling students the opinion of the experts, teachers might want to present students with evidence about the impact of the vote on government which is contained in scholarly writings and journalistic accounts. On the basis of this evidence, students can judge their previous speculations about the worth of each of the three views of the impact of voting on public policy.

SAMPLE LESSON NO. 2

Sample Lesson Number Two

"BLACK POWER IN TUSKEGEE"[9]

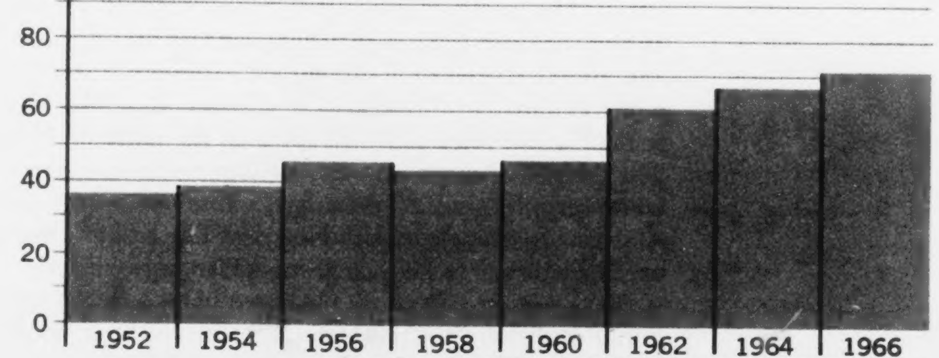
Case studies of political behavior contain evidence which can help students inquire about the impact of the vote on government. The following case, "Black Power in Tuskegee," is a description of the impact of the vote on a local government. It provides clues about both the power and the very obvious limitations of the vote as a political resource.

Tuskegee is a small town in Macon County in Alabama. It is the home of Tuskegee Institute, the famous school for Negroes founded by Booker T. Washington. Tuskegee is in the heart of the deep South's "black belt." A majority of Tuskegee's inhabitants are Negro. However, until 1962 a majority of the registered voters in Tuskegee were whites, as the graph below shows.

Until recently, Negro voter registration and voter turnout had been low in Tuskegee, as elsewhere in the South. This was primarily a result of the southern tradition of segregation and legal discrimination against blacks. Both legal and social barriers had been erected to prevent large numbers of blacks from voting.

Although they were a minority of the population of Tuskegee, white people ran the city government. The white public officials of Tuskegee made policy that favored whites. The government provided many services for whites that were not provided for Negroes. For example, the streets in the white neighborhoods were paved while streets in the black neighborhoods remained unpaved. Garbage was picked up three times a week in the white neighborhoods. The city provided garbage collection service only once a

Tuskegee Black Voter Registration, 1952-1966



Data from W. R. Keech, THE IMPACT OF NEGRO VOTING week for the black neighborhoods. City housing laws prevented blacks from moving to certain sections of the city. Recreation facilities were segregated.

The Macon County Democratic Club (MCDC) tried to organize blacks in Tuskegee for the purpose of influencing the local government. The MCDC worked hard to register black voters. Before every election, the MCDC met to choose the candidates most likely to favor Negro interests. Then the MCDC would urge all blacks in Tuskegee to vote for the MCDC-selected candidates. In this way the MCDC hoped to gain influence over public officials that they helped elect.

For the most part the attempts of the MCDC to influence public officials failed. Prior to the election of 1964, black voters were a minority. It was impossible for this minority group to elect a Negro to public office. Even when they helped to elect a white man, the white official felt compelled to follow the traditions of the white community. This meant that blacks continued to be discriminated against in the distribution of public services.

Finally in 1964 tradition was shattered. Tuskegee blacks achieved a majority of the registered voters. The MCDC encouraged several Negroes to run for public office. Several white candidates for office promised to support black interests if elected. The MCDC agreed to back those white candidates who would support policies favorable to black people.

In the local election of 1964 the MCDC delivered the black vote in support of its slate of candidates. Every candidate on the MCDC slate was elected. Thus, a white man who had promised to support Negro interests was elected mayor. Four white men who had promised to support Negro interests were elected to the city council. For the first time since Reconstruction days, two blacks were elected to the city council. Two were elected to the school board, two as justices of the peace, and the new county sheriff was a Negro. Black power had been demonstrated in this election.

The MCDC had been in a position to influence the selection of an all-Negro slate of candidates. It chose not to do this, because it wanted to demonstrate that it was willing and able to cooperate with whites. Although it is a majority political force in Tuskegee, it realized that blacks would remain a minority political force in the state of Alabama. The MCDC hoped that its willingness to cooperate with white people would encourage whites in other parts of Alabama to cooperate with Negroes. The MCDC desired to use black power to help Negroes, not to hurt whites.

Black voting power in Tuskegee helped to change some public policies in Tuskegee. But the vote alone did not account for the changes. Rather, the MCDC continued to remind public officials that they had been elected to office

SAMPLE
LESSON NO. 2

with black votes. Therefore, Tuskegee blacks expected some favors from the government. This constant pressure that the MCDC applied to public officials, along with the black voting power that the MCDC commanded, influenced public officials to take action.

One of the first actions of the government in behalf of Negroes was to pave the streets in the black neighborhoods. Garbage collection service was changed. Both black and white neighborhoods received equal garbage collection service. The new city council, elected with the support of black voting power, abolished housing laws that discriminated against Negroes. Public parks and swimming pools were integrated.

An obvious benefit to the black community came in the distribution of appointments to city jobs. Before 1964 no Negroes had been appointed to serve on local government boards and commissions. After the election of 1964, many blacks received such appointments. Two were appointed to the city library board. Three blacks were appointed to the housing commission. Three were placed on the city planning board. One was put on the medical board, and four were appointed to the board of directors of the city-county hospital. Five blacks were placed on the recreation board. Black voting power had won black representation on every appointive board in Tuskegee.

Voting power did not win social and economic advancement for blacks as a group in Tuskegee. Many whites, true to their traditions, continued to treat Negroes with disdain. Poor Negroes with low living standards tended to remain poor and with low living standards.

However, black voting power won impressive legal and political gains for blacks in Tuskegee. But it is important to remember that these changes did not come about until Negroes became a majority of the voters in Tuskegee. It is important to remember that bloc voting by Negroes helped to achieve these results. Further it is important to note that the vote alone did not win more rights and services for Tuskegee's blacks. Rather, a strong organization, the MCDC, was needed to organize voters to influence public policy. And the MCDC was needed to pressure public officials to carry out their election promises.

1. How effective was voting as a political resource in Tuskegee? Discuss the limitations as well as the power of the vote as an influencer of public policy decisions.

2. What is your evaluation of the political tactics and strategies of the MCDC? Do you approve or disapprove of their kind of "black power"?

* * * * *

The case study, "Black Power in Tuskegee," suggests that the vote can be used to help a disadvantaged group gain more and better public services. For example, through bloc voting, a group can influence public officials to be more responsive to their needs for public services such as garbage collection, street paving, or use of public facilities. In addition, a group of citizens can use bloc voting as a means to influence public officials to give more patronage positions in government to members of the group.

However, the case also shows the limitations of the ballot as a political resource. For example, voting power did not help to achieve greater social equality or vastly improved living standards. It seems that through voting power alone a group can win neither short-run social acceptance nor economic advancement. Furthermore, voting power alone does not account for beneficial policy changes. Rather, the vote must be used in combination with other political techniques and pressures to achieve certain important objectives. Continued organized political action must be used to pressure public officials to fulfill campaign promises. Organized political effort to sustain the exercise of power is needed to achieve and maintain socio-political gains.

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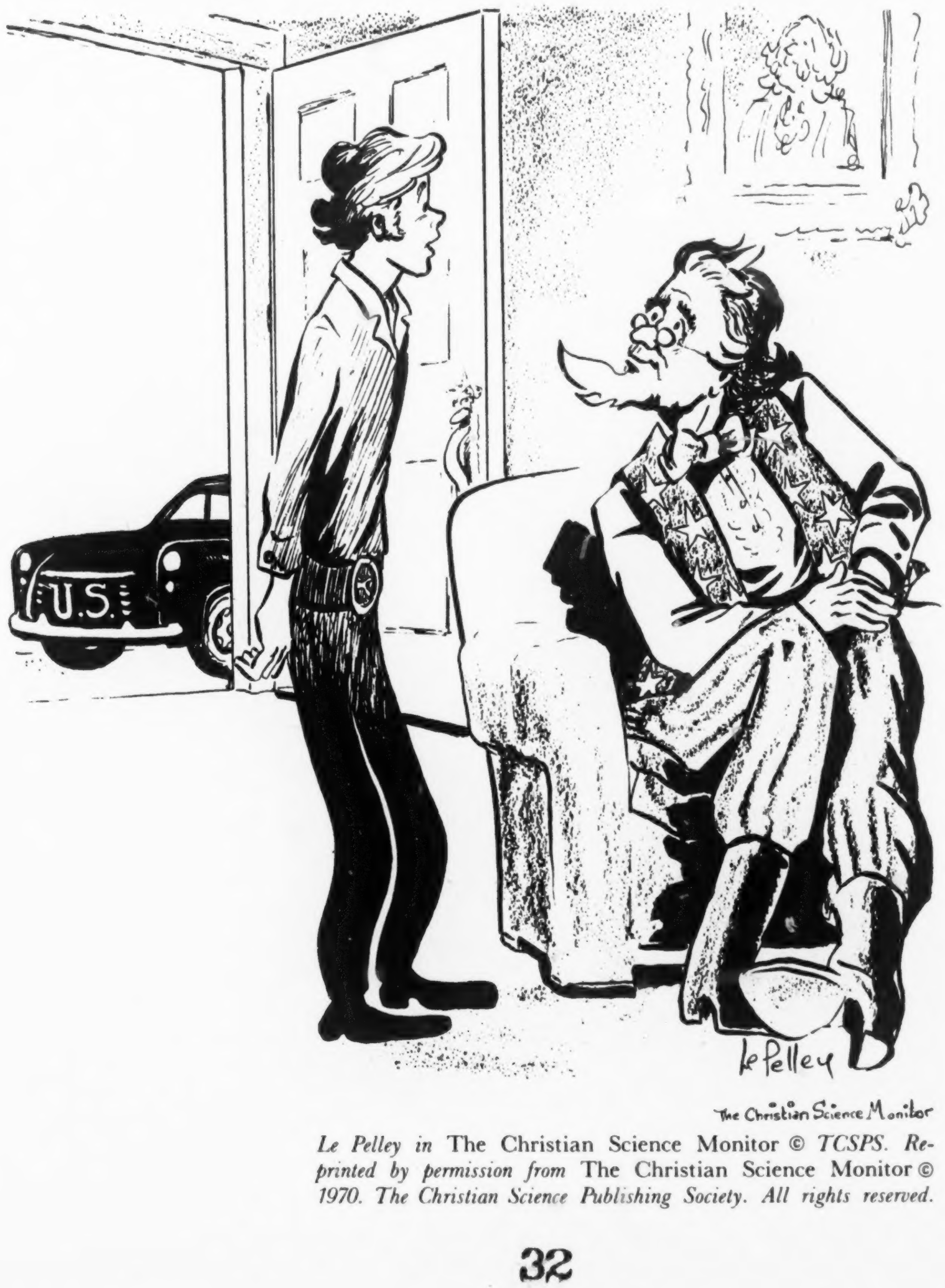
NOTES

'Dad, I'm 18, may I have the keys to the car?'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2

WHO SHOULD VOTE?

Who should be permitted to vote? Every society that selects public officials through popular elections must answer this question. Social studies students should have the opportunity to learn about how their society has responded to questions about voter eligibility and to make judgments about the desirability of these responses.

A. Voter Eligibility Laws of the Past

The main purpose of legal qualifications for voting is to prohibit from using the ballot those who are considered unfit in terms of the political culture, the society's predominant political values and attitudes. During most of our country's long history of public elections, a majority of adults have been considered unfit to vote. An important part of the American heritage is laws which have denied the ballot to these groups: propertyless men, black people, Indians, poor people, women, illiterates, and older adolescents.[1]

Twelve of the original thirteen states had laws requiring property ownership as a qualification for voting. Not until 1856 was the last of these "property qualification" laws repealed. During the early history of our nation, 1776-1863, thirteen states also had laws requiring a certain level of tax payment as a qualification for voting. During this period, a main feature of the political culture was the belief that only men of property or financial means were fit to be voters. It was believed that only these people had a sufficient stake in society, that only they would vote responsibly.

Not until the aftermath of the Civil War, with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, were the voting rights of most black men guaranteed formally. Not until 1965, with the passage of the Voting Rights Act, were the voting rights of blacks established practically in every part of the country. After the Civil War, Southern states devised means of "getting around" the Fifteenth Amendment. Voter eligibility laws were made which were biased against blacks, and various social and economic pressures, such as dismissal from jobs or physical intimidation, were used to keep black people from the polls. The United States Supreme Court, until recently, did not check these endeavors to prevent blacks from voting.

Women were generally thought to be unfit to vote until the twentieth century. Only four Western states permitted women to vote before 1900; Wyoming, which granted the suffrage to women in 1869, was the first to extend the suffrage to females. In 1920, with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the voting rights of American women were guaranteed.

Many poor people were disfranchised by poll taxes, which required payment of a small fee to qualify to vote. Those who chose not to vote could avoid payment of the tax. Many poor people preferred not voting to paying the tax. The Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, passed in 1964, outlawed the poll tax.

Literacy tests were used in many states to prevent uneducated people from voting. In some Southern states, literacy tests required the prospective voters to demonstrate ability to interpret the meaning of a section of the state constitution. These tests were often scored unfairly so as to prevent educated black people from voting while permitting illiterate whites to qualify. In other states, such as New York, the literacy test consisted of reading a paragraph and answering a few simple questions about it. Such tests were presumably based on the belief that a person cannot vote intelligently without at least a low level of reading ability. The Voting Rights Law of 1970 prohibits the use of literacy tests to determine eligibility for voting.

American Indians were another group which was largely deprived of the ballot until recent times. Federal law prohibited Indians living on reservations from assuming fully the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Presently Indians generally have the right to vote.

In our society, twenty-one has been traditionally considered the age when one attains adulthood. This custom was brought to America by English settlers during the Colonial period of our history. In line with this tradition, twenty-one became the minimum voting age in each part of the United States of America. Not until 1943, when Georgia lowered the voting age to eighteen, did any state deviate from the traditional voting age of twenty-one. In 1955, Kentucky followed Georgia's example. In 1959, Alaska set the voting age at nineteen and Hawaii at twenty. Efforts were made in the 1950's and 1960's to lower the voting age in other states; but the response was negative.

During the latter part of the 1960's, there was much debate about whether to lower the minimum voting age to eighteen. This controversy reached a peak in 1970 and 1971. The minimum voting age issue was settled temporarily in 1970 with the passing of a Federal law that lowered the voting age throughout the country to eighteen. In December, 1970, the United States Supreme Court decided that the new voting age law was only partially constitutional. The Supreme Court concluded that Congress could properly extend the vote to eighteen-year-olds only in Federal elections. According to the Court, Congress did not have the authority to establish the minimum voting age for state and local elections.

The Supreme Court decision raised the problems of having to prepare separate Federal and state ballots and to administer Federal and state elections differently, since the eighteen to twenty-one age group would be permitted to vote only for Federal officials. To resolve the problems raised by the Supreme Court decision, Congress early in 1971 proposed an Amendment to the Constitution which would lower the voting age to eighteen for all elections. This proposal, which became the Twenty-Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, provides:

> The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of age.

Each extension of the voting privilege has meant the enrichment of American political life and movement toward the ideal of equal opportunity for all social groups. The belief that widespread political participation is good has been a long-standing part of the American political culture. Groups denied the right to vote in past times, such as blacks, women, propertyless males, and youth, have appealed for the right to vote in terms of the participatory theme of the American heritage. The gradual lowering of voting barriers that has marked American history documents the success of these appeals by previously disfranchised groups.

B. Voter Eligibility Laws of the Present

In order to vote in each of the fifty states a person must be a citizen of the United States, at least eighteen years old, a resident of a state and local area for a certain period of time, and a registered voter. Residency requirements and registration procedures vary from state to state.[2] Voter eligibility laws in every state have required a person to have lived within the state and a particular county and precinct for a particular period—generally from six months to a year within the state, from one to six months within a county, and from ten days to six months within a precinct.

Congress passed legislation in 1970 which established a thirty-day residency requirement for voting in Presidential elections. On March 21, 1972 the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional lengthy residence requirements for state and local elections. The Supreme Court decided that Tennessee's one year residency requirement was too long and suggested that one month is an appropriate residency for state and local elections.

No person who meets all the qualifications for voting can exercise this privilege without formally registering to vote. To register, a person must reveal his name, address, place of birth, and age. Proof must be provided to establish residency for the required period of time.

The administration of registration varies widely from state to state. For example, in some states it is very easy to register and to stay registered to vote. In these states, citizens other than public officials are allowed to circulate in their communities to register voters, potential voters can register to vote by mail, and the deadline for registration is not until a few days before an election. In other states registration is more difficult. In these states, only public officials are allowed to register voters, registration can only take place at some central office, rather than by mail or within the various precincts of a community, and the central office where registration takes place is closed evenings and on weekends.

There is a correlation between ease of voter registration and the level of popular participation in public elections. In states where it is very easy to register, and to stay registered, the rate of popular participation in elections is very high. For example, in Idaho between seventy and eighty percent of the potential voters participate in Presidential elections; the national average recently has ranged from about sixty to sixty-four percent. It is very easy to register and stay registered to vote in Idaho. The period when one may register extends until two days before an election, people may register by mail, people may register in their precinct as well as at a central office, people have an opportunity to register on weekends or in the evening, and a voter's registration is not cancelled unless he fails to vote in any election during an eight-year period. Registration procedures alone do not cause high rates of voter participation, but it is reasonable to conclude that the typical citizen is more likely to vote if registration is simple and easily accessible.

During the 1960's many political leaders became concerned about the large number of people who were unable to vote due to unwieldy and inequitable voter registration laws. President John F. Kennedy responded by establishing the *President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation;* the "Commission," after extensive study, made numerous recommendations to modify voter eligibility laws.[3]

Some of the recommendations of the "Commission" have become national law. For example, the "Commission" concluded that literacy tests should not be used to determine voter eligibility; a Federal law was passed in 1970 which bans the use of literacy tests to establish voter eligibility. The "Commission" also urged that the minimum voting age be lowered to eighteen; the Twenty-Sixth Amendment to the Constitution extends the vote to eighteen-year-olds.

Several of the "Commission's" recommendations have been followed by some state governments and are being considered by others. For example, the "Commission" advocated that local residency requirements should not be more than thirty days and state requirements should not exceed six months. The "Commission" reported that failure to satisfy residency requirements is the single most important cause of disfranchisement in our society; as much as twelve percent of the electorate loses the right to vote in any Presidential election merely because they have moved to new homes. Many of our nation's most educated and able people, doctors, businessmen, lawyers, educators, are among the most mobile elements of our population. The residency requirement laws for voter registration work against them. According to a spokesman of the General Electric Company, six percent of GE executives lost their right to vote in 1960 because of being transferred by their company from one state to another.[4] Many other businessmen and professional men, individuals with a strong desire to participate in elections, can report similar stories about losing their right to vote for a President in a particular election simply because they were compelled to change their place of residence. Several states conformed to the "Commission's" recommendations on residency requirements. However, in 1972 twenty-four states still required residency of one year in the state; and thirty-eight states required a period of residency in a particular county that exceeds thirty days.

The Supreme Court decision of March 21, 1972, which invalidated one-year residency laws, requires many states to alter their residency laws. However, the alteration of the various state residency laws will be a gradual process. Some state governments are not likely to comply with the Supreme Court ruling until individuals bring them to court to force obedience. An additional complication is that there is some ambiguity about whether six months and ninety-day residency laws are permissible under the Supreme Court ruling.

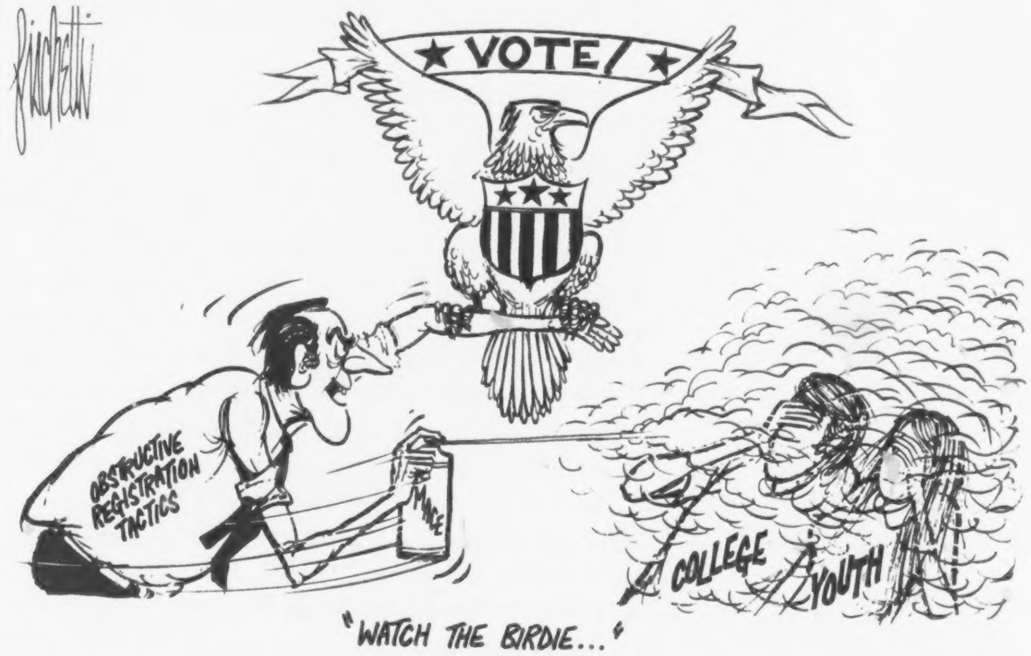
The "Commission" recommended that registration be made as simple and accessible as possible by allowing absentee registration and neighborhood registration. For example, in some states, such as Idaho, California, and Indiana, door-to-door canvassing by authorized voter registrars is encouraged. Door-to-door canvassing gives each adult a personal reminder that an election is imminent and that he must be registered in order to vote. The canvassers are able to register, on-the-spot, those who are unregistered and who wish to vote in the upcoming election.

The "Commission" recommended that lists of registered voters be used only for election purposes. Some people are reluctant to register in states where voter registration lists are used for tax assessment, jury selection, private mailing lists, and other purposes not related to voting. Currently, voter registration lists are used only for election purposes in merely twelve states.

A major controversy pertaining to residency requirements and young voters erupted in 1971: Where should college students be allowed to vote? Is a student's legal address his parents' home or his college residence?

Many argued that college students should have the right to vote where they go to school. They have said that local government officials in college communities have power to make and execute laws that affect students in their communities. Thus, students should have some say about who wields this power and how the power is used. Following is an argument for allowing students to vote in their college communities, which appeared in the *Daily Herald-Telephone* of Bloomington, Indiana, the location of Indiana University:[5]

> Atty. Gen. Mitchell, announcing that it would be improper for him to tell states what to do about student voting under the 26th Amendment, reducing the voting age to 18, promptly proceeded to do just that—with questionable logic and unnecessary emotion.
>
> Allowing newly enfranchised students to vote in their college towns instead of making them vote in the hometown of their parents, Mitchell said, would be unfair to many other voters. His case was this: Many voters, including thousands of servicemen, have to be away from home on election day and must either vote by absentee ballot or refrain from voting. To allow students to vote where they live would discriminate against these other absentee voters, he said.
>
> The college student spends the major part of the year, and often the whole year or a number of years, in his college town. The serviceman, about whom Mitchell is so concerned, is often on the move in and out of the country; he lives not in communities for the most part but in military installations; he has no permanent base. If a serviceman is so fortunate as to be stationed more or less permanently off a base and in a civilian community there is no reason why he shouldn't be able to vote there after establishing residence.
>
> It is fast being established across the country, backed by



Editorial cartoon by John Fischetti © *1971,* Chicago Daily News.

court rulings and opinions of attorneys general, that if a student establishes permanent residency in his college town he has a right to vote there. Many students have cut home ties with their parents, make their own way, are married and have their own families. *To consider them still children under the wings of their parents is ridiculous.* Mitchell had best leave the matter to local voting authorities, as he said he and Congress properly should, instead of intruding his bias into a local concern.

Many contended that most college students are transients, not bona fide residents of their college communities. Thus, they should vote in the communities where their parents reside, by absentee ballot if necessary. These people believe that student voters, as temporary residents, would not have a sufficient stake in the community to vote responsibly and wisely. William F. Buckley, Jr., presented typical arguments against allowing most students to vote in their college communities. These arguments were printed in the *Sunday Herald-Times* of Bloomington, Indiana.

> Conservative leader William F. Buckley, Jr. has dissented from the view which allows students to vote in communities other than their own, and during a recent *Herald-Times* interview he delineated his rationale.
>
> "The whole point of democracy, it seems to me, is not that people should have the abstract right to vote at every level of government," Buckley said, "but people ought to have the abstract right to vote in that situation whose laws will affect them.
>
> "Obviously, state laws are going to affect you if you consider yourself a resident of Indiana and federal laws obviously affect you no matter where you are. But the notion that they (students) should be consulted on bond issues which will affect the people of Bloomington over a period of the next 40 years is preposterous."
>
> Buckley said students should no more be allowed to vote in college towns "than members of the army should be allowed to vote in the city elections of whatever city Fort Dix is in. I simply do not follow the logical argument."
>
> Advocates of the student vote point out students pay taxes to the city when they patronize the stores, but Buckley does not accept that reasoning either.
>
> "Nor, it seems to me, does it follow because a town or municipality depends very heavily on a student population that there is a reciprocal obligation to the students.
>
> "I don't think everybody who goes to Disneyland ought to be allowed to vote in Anaheim, and yet it is true the

> whole of the economy of Anaheim depends on Disneyland."
>
> Buckley said whatever fear exists over the significant effects of the under-21 college vote should soon disappear.
>
> "My guess is it won't be long before the adversary in the situation asserts itself sufficiently to cause people not to worry," he said.
>
> "You hear about it now primarily because voting for the 18-year-olds is a new thing. Under the circumstances, like a drug, this is something for which there is an addiction I assume will be fleeting. People find it much less exciting than they thought. The chances of IU students actually probing the municipal situation to the point they feel they want badly to vote are slight. Mostly they will be attracted to the melodramatic contests—the local Gene McCarthy against the local Hickenlooper."
>
> The conservative spokesman said politicians now seem to be shying away from open identification with militant student groups.
>
> "The notion of government run by the moral impulses of students has been largely discredited, and not only by the American experience, but by the experience of France, New Delhi, Mexico City, Rome and Madrid."

Fearful that student voters would participate detrimentally in local politics, local government officials in many college communities moved to erect barriers to student voter registration. A *New York Times* article, November 11, 1971, provided numerous examples of "voting hurdles erected by local officials."[7]

> Students who have tried to register to vote this fall have run into numerous stumbling blocks thrown up by local election officials.
>
> Often these officials are confused by the laws or frightened by the young people's potential impact on college towns, and their actions have evoked cries of protest and a rash of lawsuits from student activists. . . .
>
> Local officials in some states retort that they are merely following the law, that students are not permanent residents of college communities and are thus not entitled to vote there. But the main reasons appear to be political. Dennis R. Bing, the clerk of Champaign County, site of the University of Illinois, said:
>
> > "The local citizens are worried that the students would saddle them with high taxes and big bond issues. In reality, their hearts are not here. . . ."
>
> Public attention has focused largely on the question of whether students will be allowed to vote in cities where

they attend school. So far, the legal trend has been in favor of the students. . . .

Carroll Ladt, director of the Youth Citizenship Fund, another registration group, described the situation this way:

> "The whole battle is going to be on a local level, county by county, precinct by precinct. To be quite honest, if enough people want to prevent young people from voting in the next election they can do so."

One good example is Cambridge, Mass., the home of Harvard, Radcliffe and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Last summer Attorney General Robert Quinn ruled that students could vote in college communities provided they had lived there six months, and many towns started enrolling students without incident.

But in Cambridge, registrars insisted that students present evidence that they had a "contractual arrangement" for living space in the city over the summer, and that they did not receive financial support from parents. Applicants were turned away in droves, including Michael B. McCarthy, son of former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy.

Last month, nine Cambridge residents, including the president of the League of Women Voters and four lawyers, called for Federal supervision of registration procedures, similar to the supervision now mandated in parts of the South.

"In our minds," they said in a statement, "the situation in Cambridge has reached a crisis that does not speak well for our democratic form of government."

Lee County, Ala., the site of Auburn University, requires students to fill out a special form so complicated that it makes it almost impossible for them to qualify. The student newspaper noted recently that "many of us were heartened at the prospect of being able to make our opinions heard and felt" after the 26th Amendment was adopted.

"But our enthusiasm," continued the paper, "is rapidly dying out with the realization that registrars in Lee County and elsewhere are openly defying the U.S. Constitution with property requirements, oaths of intent, special registration forms for students, residency requirements—all of the same old tricks that kept black voters away from the polls for so many years."

After considerable persuasion, the registrar in Tallahassee, Fla., agreed to hold a special registration session at Florida State University. But unless a student could produce rent receipts showing that he had lived in the city for six previous months, he was rejected. At 5 P.M. the registrar promptly closed her books, leaving more than 400 students waiting in line.

In Illinois, Attorney General William J. Scott said that students "must receive identical treatment" with other applicants, but he added that students could be challenged at the polls, on the ground that they were not permanent residents.

In Champaign, County Clerk Dennis Bing has rejected a majority of the student applications. Those he accepted were marked "incomplete," and Mr. Bing has predicted that students will probably be challenged when they try to vote.

Such challenges were made against several hundred students when they voted in the Boston mayoralty election last week, and attorneys in Illinois and elsewhere are already planning to seek injunctions that would prohibit such tactics.

Some registrars feel they have no choice but to reject students. "There's only one way to read the law," insisted J. Elwood Lamphear, Town Clerk in Williamstown, Mass., home of Williams College. "It specifies three things, that a person must be 18, an American citizen and a resident of the community for six months. If a student comes to me on Sept. 1 and wants to register, I'll only accept him if he's been a resident since Mar. 1."

Thus far Mr. Lamphear has registered only two students, one who worked in Williamstown over the summer and one whose parents live in the town.

Other officials are confused. Mr. Bing of Champaign says Illinois has no definition of "permanent" resident.

"I sincerely hope the State Legislature or the courts will clarify the definition of permanent. I'd welcome some guidelines," he said.

To show how confusing things are, adjoining McLean County, home of Illinois State University, is registering all students without question. "I consulted the State's Attorney and that was our decision," said Paul Morris, the County Clerk.

Most students pay sales taxes in their college communities and about 60 per cent, directly or indirectly, pay property taxes, according to Michael Cole of the Common Cause Voting Rights Project. Moreover, students are subject to local laws on everything from drugs to parking.

Most important, Mr. Cole said, laws that make it "inconvenient or cumbersome" for students to vote—by forcing them to vote absentee or return home—violate both the 26th Amendment and the 14th Amendment, which guarantees equal protection of the laws.

Some students, however, may find it less inconvenient to register where their parents live.

Numerous court decisions have stipulated that students in college communities be treated the same as other potential voters. For example, the California Supreme Court ruled that registrars must treat college students no differently than other potential voters. In Michigan the State Supreme Court declared null and void all specially contrived legal impediments to registration of student voters. Similar rulings have been made in several other states. However, the issue of where college students should vote has not been settled conclusively on a nationwide basis. The United States Supreme Court's recent decision about the length of residency requirements may make it easier for college students to vote in state and local elections since they might be able to establish residency in their college communities more easily than previously. The Supreme Court is expected to make a ruling about the registration of college student voters in the near future.

C. Sample Lessons for the Social Studies Classroom

Social studies students should examine these basic generalizations about suffrage in our country.

(1) Voter eligibility laws reflect a society's beliefs about who is fit, or unfit, to participate in the affairs of government.

(2) Our history is marked by the gradual lowering of barriers to voting.

(3) Changes in voter eligibility laws have been achieved primarily through legal means.

(4) Voter eligibility laws are an important indicator of the extent to which democratic ideals are practiced in our country.

Examination of case studies about the efforts of various disfranchised groups, such as youth, women, or blacks, to win the ballot can help students to examine the above generalizations. Following is a case study of the efforts of black people to win voting rights which was designed for the high-school social studies classroom.

Sample Lesson Number Three

THE VOTING RIGHTS OF BLACK PEOPLE: USING THE LAW TO CHANGE THE LAW.[8]

In spite of the fact that large groups of people have been denied the ballot in the past, a belief in "government by the people" has been an important element of the American political culture. Compared with most other countries, the

United States was a leader in granting the ballot to more and more people.

A major exception to this general trend was the erection of barriers to black voters in the South at the end of the Reconstruction period in the 1870's. The Fifteenth Amendment had barred the states from making race or color a condition for voting. Nevertheless, Southern states devised other means of keeping blacks from registering and voting:

> *Literacy tests,* as we have seen, could be "scored" to pass illiterate whites and to reject even educated blacks.
>
> *Poll taxes* required that individuals pay a fee, usually one or two dollars, to be eligible to vote. In a few states the prospective voter had to pay any unpaid back poll tax as well as the current tax. Moreover, the individual could escape the tax by not voting. The poll tax, of course, stopped many poor blacks, as well as whites, from voting.
>
> *Economic and social pressures* besides the poll tax included dismissal from a job if a black man asked for the ballot. Threats and actual beatings, house burnings, and even murders were used to terrorize the black community.
>
> *White-primary laws* provided that only enrolled party members could vote in a primary election. The Democratic party would then refuse to enroll any black members, claiming that the party was sort of a private club and not an arm of the government. In states with white-primary laws the winners in the Democratic party election almost always won in the general election. Thus blacks had little or no chance to influence the elections.
>
> The *Grandfather Clause* was first used in Louisiana in 1898. It gave permanent voter registration to anyone whose father or grandfather was qualified to vote as of January 1, 1867. All other people had to pass a literacy test to qualify to vote. Since the only fathers and grandfathers who were registered voters in 1867 were white, the only voters who were allowed permanent voter registration were white. Most blacks had to pass the unfair literacy test described earlier. The Grandfather Clause worked so well in restricting black voting that it spread to several other Southern states.

Most of the devices to keep blacks from voting took the form of state laws which were passed to get around the Fifteenth Amendment. How could blacks knock down these legal barriers? Some black leaders decided to use the law courts to win political rights.

A citizen who believes that a law harms him in some special way or deprives him of his constitutional rights may start a case in court. Eventually the case may reach the United States Supreme Court. The Court may decide that the citizen's claim is valid—that the law is unconstitutional and therefore may not be enforced.

SAMPLE LESSON NO. 3

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led the fight. The first breakthrough came in 1915, when NAACP lawyers presented their case against the Grandfather Clause in the Oklahoma state constitution. The Supreme Court declared the clause unconstitutional, or null and void. Other victories by means of law suits came slowly. Then in 1944 the white-primary laws were declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Smith* v. *Allbright*.

In addition to seeking changes in the law by means of court action, the NAACP and other black organizations in alliance with white sympathizers worked for new Federal laws to broaden voting rights. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 gave the United States Attorney General the right to bring suits against election officials practicing racial discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 required that literacy tests must be given in writing and that anyone with at least a sixth-grade education must be considered literate.

We have seen that the Voting Rights Act of 1965 suspended the use of literacy tests in certain areas. That law also permitted Federal officials to register Negro voters in areas where local officials were thwarting Negro voter registration. The Voting Rights Act was extended in 1970 with an outright ban on literacy tests.

Federal intervention in voter registration has led to a dramatic increase in election participation by blacks. In 1900 Louisiana had only 5,320 blacks registered to vote, and Alabama only about 3,000. As late as 1940 in eleven Southern states only 250,000 Negroes, or 5 percent of the black population, were registered to vote. By 1970 over three million Southern blacks were registered, and further gains were expected.

Social pressures and traditional apathy still limit the participation of black people in public elections. Some white leaders still try to influence black people to stay out of political affairs. Some older black people have grown accustomed to nonparticipation in politics. However, many younger blacks have accepted the challenge of improving their opportunities through political activity. They plan to use political action to improve their lot in life.

Discuss these questions to demonstrate what you have learned from this case.

1. **How do voting laws influence popular participation in public elections?**
2. **How have black people used the law to change their role in public elections?**

* * * * *

This case study about the voting rights of black Americans can help students to understand more fully the uses of voter eligibility laws in our society. These laws have reflected the political beliefs, or political culture, of our society. These laws have been used to repress and to provide opportunity, to protect the rights of individuals and to provide for the tyranny of a majority, to buttress the status quo and to spearhead equitable social change. Perhaps the most important understanding to be gained from the case is that despite the abuses suffered by blacks in their attempts to fully gain voting rights, they were able to change voter eligibility laws through appeals to law. Socio-political stability and the achievement of a democratic socio-political order depend upon respect for the law, the resolution of conflict through the use of law, and the opportunity for minority groups to achieve justice under law. Democracy is the social condition which permits rule by the majority and the legal protection of minority group rights. The quality and uses of voter eligibility laws are an accurate indicator of the extent of democratic practice in any society.

Sample Lesson Number Four

MAKING JUDGMENTS ABOUT VOTER REGISTRATION RIGHTS

Students, especially those who are eligible to vote, should become thoroughly familiar with the requirements and procedures for voter eligibility in their states and local communities. Students in social studies classes should be required to seek answers to the following questions:

(1) How long must a person reside in the state, county, and precinct to qualify to vote?

(2) How long before an election does registration close?

(3) Where does one go to register and what does one do to register?

(4) Can one register in his neighborhood as well as at a central office?

(5) Can one register during evenings and weekends?

(6) Is registration cancelled for failure to vote during a particular period of time?

(7) Is registration cancelled when a person moves from one part of his community to another?

(8) Can one register to vote by mail?

The following lesson was designed to stimulate student examination and judgment about voter registration laws.

SAMPLE LESSON NO. 4

The lesson consists of exercises which require students to obtain and apply information about voter eligibility laws and to make value judgments about these laws.

Part I. Following are descriptions of individuals who want to register to vote in your community. Answer these questions about each individual.

---

1. **Does the law in your state permit the individual to register to vote? Explain your answer.**
2. **Can this individual register to vote in any other state? Explain your answer.**
3. **Should this individual be permitted to vote? Explain your answer.**

A. George is a twenty-one-year-old and is not regularly employed. He spends most of his time hanging around pool rooms and bars. He is a high school dropout and reads very poorly. He has about a second-grade level of reading ability and is considered functionally illiterate. He was born and raised in your community.

B. Homer was born and raised in your community. He is in the Navy and is stationed in Guam. Homer wants to register to vote in your community.

C. Herbert is a convict, and is housed in a state penitentiary. He is serving the first year of a ten-year sentence. He was born and raised in your community and has always been interested in politics. He has been a model prisoner.

D. Nancy is an eighteen-year-old high school student who moved to your community one month ago. She is very interested in politics and wants to vote in the next election, which takes place in two weeks.

E. Nicolas moved from Romania to your community two years ago. He intends to become a citizen of the United States very soon. He is twenty-five years old, is regularly employed, speaks English fluently, and is well-educated. He has become very interested in politics and wants to vote in the next election, which takes place in two months.

F. Robert is ninety-five years old and is a lifelong resident of your community. For the last five years he has been confined to a home for the elderly located in your community. Robert was once a very active man and has enjoyed reading about politics. However, he has not voted during the past five years.

G. Marty is a lifelong resident of your community. He is nineteen years old. He wants to register to vote in the next election, which will take place in two weeks.

Part II. Following are three descriptions of individuals in your community who want to vote in the next election. Answer these questions about each individual.

---

1. Is the individual required to re-register in order to vote in the next election in your community?

2. Do you agree or disagree with the voter registration requirements that pertain to each of these cases?

A. Peter and his wife, Mary, have lived in your community for the past twenty years. They are very interested in politics and have voted in every election. They purchased a new home and have moved to a new neighborhood, about four blocks away from their old home.

B. Martha is nineteen years old and has been a registered voter in your community. She was married last month.

C. Jane is thirty-five years old and was a registered voter in your community. However, she has not voted in any election in the past five years.

Answers to the factual questions in "Sample Lesson Number Four" will vary from state to state, as do voter eligibility laws. Teachers who use this lesson are advised to obtain a copy of *Registration and Voting Laws and Procedures by States* from The League of Women Voters, 1730 M Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20036. The price is forty cents with price discounts for large quantity orders. Some teachers may want to order copies for their students.

Answers to the normative questions in "Sample Lesson Number Four" will vary in terms of various value preferences of students. Teachers should encourage students to clearly specify the basic ideas undergirding their value judgments about voter eligibility requirements.

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[3] *Report of the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation,* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1963).

[4] Brendon Byrne, *Let's Modernize Our Horse-and-Buggy Election Laws,* (Washington, Connecticut: The Center for Information on America, 1961), p. 3.

[5] *Daily Herald-Telephone,* (Bloomington, Indiana:, October 5, 1971).

[6] Greg Dawson, "The Student Vote Issue: Baloney . . . ," *Sunday Herald-Times,* (Bloomington-Bedford, Indiana: October 17, 1971), p. 41.

[7] Steven B. Roberts, "Students Encounter Hurdles to Voting," *The New York Times,* (New York: November 11, 1971), pp. 1, 26.

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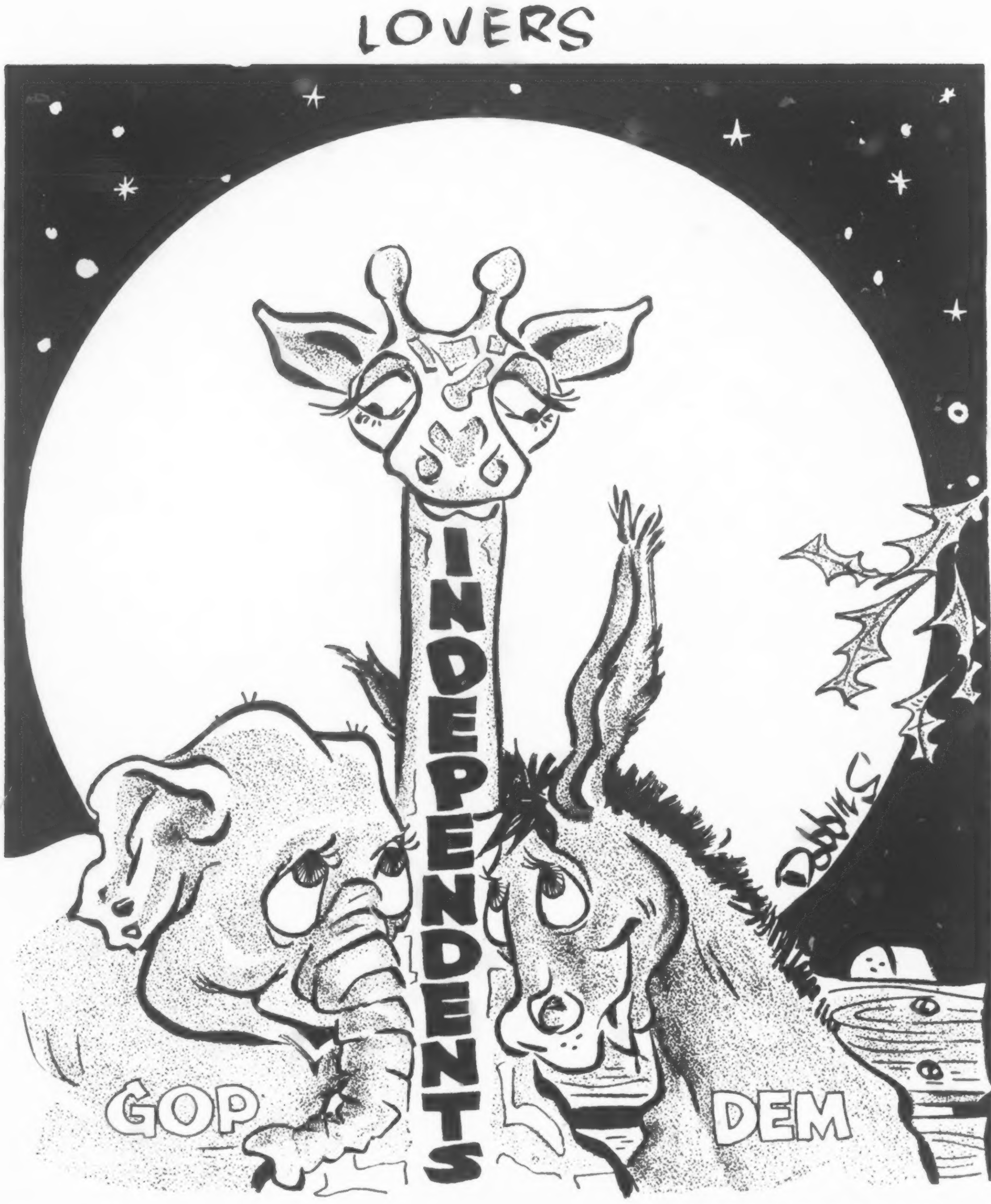
NOTES


LOVERS
INDEPENDENTS
GOP
DEM
DOBBINS

James J. Dobbins, *The Boston Herald Traveler*

How significant is the "independent vote" in American elections? *Reprinted by permission of James J. Dobbins.*

3

PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN ELECTIONS

Who votes? Who votes for whom? Politicians are extremely interested in these questions. Typical voters ought to be interested in them too. Politicians must win elections to survive, and voters must use the ballot wisely to have a voice in government. Both the politician and the ordinary voter need knowledge about patterns of voter behavior to achieve important political goals. Knowledge yields power; in this case, knowledge of voter behavior could be a means to the design of more fruitful political strategies.

Teachers of the social studies who want to help their students to become informed and effective participants in elections should help students to acquire knowledge about patterns of participation and candidate choice in elections. Data and hypotheses pertinent to questions about patterns of voter behavior are presented in this chapter.

A. Who Votes?

Who are the potential voters in our society? Data gathered by the Bureau of the Census indicates that American voters tend to be white, middle-aged, non-college graduates, moderately affluent, and metropolitan area dwellers. In the words of two experts, Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, they tend to be "unyoung, unpoor, and unblack."[1]

Table 1 shows the numbers of various types of American voters in 1968.

TABLE 1: The Electorate of 1968[2]
(All persons of voting age in the civilian noninstitutional population)

GROUP	NUMBER (In thousands)
1. *Race*	
White	104,521
Black	10,935
Others	1,079
2. *Age*	
21–24	11,170
25–34	23,198
35–44	22,905
45–54	22,632
55–64	17,730
65–74	11,573
Over 75	6,895
3. *Sex*	
Male	54,464
Female	62,071
4. *Place*	
Metropolitan (central cities)	35,617
Metropolitan (suburbs)	40,139
Non-Metropolitan (non-farm)	35,355
Non-Metropolitan (farm)	5,524
5. *Educational Attainment*	
Elementary School	30,430
Some High School	20,429
High School Graduates	39,709
Some College	13,312
College Graduates	12,659
6. *Occupation*	
Professional, Technical and Business	18,465
Clerical, Sales, etc.	15,245
Manual Workers	25,229
Service Workers	8,078
Farm Workers	2,987
7. *Family Income* (For 103,841 in primary families)	
Under $3,000	11,293
3,000–4,999	14,557
5,000–7,499	22,870
7,500–9,999	18,920
10,000–14,999	19,744
15,000 and over	9,707
Not Reported	6,750

Pollster Louis Harris examined recently the many characteristics of the electorate of 1972. He found that compared to the potential voters of 1968, the electorate of

1972 is a little younger, a little better educated, a little more urban (especially suburban) and considerably more affluent.[3] It is significant to note that these changes do not overturn the tendency statements which the "experts" have made about the electorate of the 1960's. The voters of 1972 still tend to be white, middle class, urban-suburban, middle-aged, middle-educated people, who are, by-and-large, more affluent than before. The voters of 1972 still tend to be unblack, unyoung, and unpoor.

Census data indicate that the young voters are much like the older voters in demographic characteristics.[4] The main demographic difference between the young voters and older voters is in the category of education; they tend to have higher educational attainments than older voters. However, most young voters are not students, and most are members of the nation's work forces who are employed in relatively lower status jobs, neither professional, technical, nor managerial.

Who are the actual voters in our public elections? Knowing who the potential voters are is extremely important to those concerned with election outcomes. Politicians do "hunt where the ducks are." To determine exactly where these "hunting grounds" are, the careful student of voter behavior must consider who the *actual voters* are as distinct from the *potential voters.* Potential voters are those who are eligible to participate in an election. Actual voters are those who have participated in past elections and who are likely to participate again.

Studies of voter behavior during the past thirty years have indicated these patterns of participation in the American electorate.[5]

1. Tendency to vote increases with socioeconomic status.
2. Men are more likely to vote than women are.
3. Tendency to vote increases with educational attainment.
4. Individuals living in urban or metropolitan areas are more likely to vote than individuals living in rural areas.
5. Middle-aged people are more likely than young adults or elderly people to vote. Elderly people are more likely to vote than young adults are.
6. Tendency to vote increases with income level.
7. Professional, managerial, and white-collar workers are more likely to vote than manual workers are.
8. Whites are more likely to vote than blacks are.

As shown in Table 2, the younger voters have a poor record of participation in public elections. In the four states where individuals below twenty-one years of age were permitted to vote, only 33 percent of the eligible young voters participated in the 1968 Presidential election, a very poor record. In addition, the participation rate of the 21-24 age group was much lower than that of older groups.

TABLE 2: Percentage of Eligible Voters of Different Age Groups Who Voted in 1968[6]

AGE GROUP	PERCENT
18–20*	33
21–24	51
25–29	60
30–64	72
65 and Over	66

*In 1968 only Georgia, Kentucky, Alaska, and Hawaii permitted people under age 21 to vote.

Why are some individuals, or social groups, more likely than others to participate in public elections? What factors are related to voter turnout? According to several voter behavior studies, personal factors that influence voter turnout are motivational level, political interest, sense of political involvement, sense of personal worth and effectiveness, and political alienation.[7] Situational factors that are related to these personal factors are strength of party organization, intense political competition, provocative socio-political issues, attractive and/or provocative candidates.

The most important factor influencing the rate of voter turnout in an election is the motivational and interest level of individuals. High turnout to vote is related to high voter interest. Low turnout is related to low voter interest. High turnout is related to intense political competition or provocative political issues that divide social groups into opposing political camps. When individuals believe that the stakes are high, that the outcome of the election will make some difference in their way of life, they are likely to be highly motivated to vote.

Table 3 provides evidence of the relationship between high political interest and motivation and high voter turnout. Notice in Table 3 that a much larger percentage of eligible voters turn out to vote in Presidential election years than in "off-year" Congressional elections. This happens because voters perceive that the stakes are higher in a Presidential election; they believe that the consequences of the election are likely to be important. Furthermore, the mass media of communication—newspapers, magazines, television, radio—provide more coverage of Presidential elections than of "off-year" Congressional elections. Thus, the potential voter has the chance to obtain more information easily and presumably is more aroused and interested during a Presidential election campaign.

Compare the percentage of the electorate voting for Congressmen during a Presidential election year with the percentage voting for Congressmen in an off-year election. Note that vastly more people vote for Congressmen during the Presidential election year. The Presidential election campaign stimulates voter interest in other political contests. During "off-year" elections, the added political stimulation generated by a Presidential campaign is lacking. Thus, voter interest and motivation typically decline.

TABLE 3: Percentage of the Electorate Voting in National Elections, 1940–1970[8]

	CIVILIANS OF VOTING AGE	
Year	*Percent Voting for President*	*Percent Voting for Congressmen*
1940	59.2	55.7
1942		33.9
1944	52.9	49.8
1946		37.4
1948	51.3	48.4
1950		41.6
1952	62.6	58.6
1954		42.4
1956	60.1	56.6
1958		43.4
1960	64.0	59.6
1962		46.7
1964	62.9	58.7
1966		46.3
1968	61.8	55.8
1970		43.8

A psychological, or personal, factor that influences rate of voting is sense of personal worth or self-concept. A person's self-concept is the picture he has of himself. It is a person's evaluation of himself. An individual with a high level of personal worth is more likely to vote, or to be active in politics generally, than is a person with a low sense of personal worth. Poor self-concept, or low sense of personal worth, has been an important factor limiting the political participation of individuals with low socioeconomic status.

Individuals with high socioeconomic status, and high level of educational attainment, tend to have a higher sense of personal worth than individuals with low socioeconomic status and low level of educational attainment. In part, this accounts for the higher level of political participation, including higher rates of voter turnout, among individuals of high socioeconomic status and educational attainment.

Social isolation, or social detachment, is another important personal factor that may strongly influence voter turnout. Social isolation means to take little or no part in social activities or to have few contacts with other people. Individuals that have a high sense of belonging to society, a high sense of feeling a part of things, are more likely to vote than those with a low sense of belonging. Individuals who belong to one or more social or occupational organizations are more likely to vote, and to participate in politics generally, than are individuals who belong to no organizations.

Political alienation is yet another personal factor associated with rate of voting. Politically alienated individuals are deeply dissatisfied with their society and/or political system. This dissatisfaction may cause alienated individuals to withdraw from the election process, to choose not to vote as a form of political protest. In contrast to most non-voters, politically alienated individuals are often very interested in and informed about politics. Politically alienated individuals are usually suspicious of politicians and distrustful of the intentions of politicians. They usually believe that most office-holders are corrupt and self-seeking. They have become cynical about the political process as a whole.

An article in the *Chicago Sun-Times,* about the problems of motivating "The Slum Voter," is an example of factors related to low level political participation.[9]

> To get the Negro living in the city slums to register and vote, the League of Women Voters says, he must be hit with the issues close to him—garbage collection, police brutality charges, rats, and even racial discrimination.
>
> The Negro—as well as the Puerto Rican and the newcomer from Appalachia and other depressed rural areas living in the city's slums—is not concerned and cannot be reached by the usual get-out-the-vote campaigns which deal in abstract values and long-range objectives, says a three-year study of elections in nine cities. . . .
>
> Barriers to be overcome are not those presented by the normally apathetic voter, says the study. "They are those that apply specifically to this group of citizens' poor education, lack of confidence, fear, poverty, feelings of futility and lack of specific know-how."
>
> The League says these psychological and mechanical barriers are not easy to remove. But it did learn that the combined efforts of many organizations and individuals,

working together, could make a significant difference in registration and voting turnout by inner-city residents.

"Once motivated, people will register—and they will vote. . . .

"Hit the nerve that makes them want the needed information; convince them that their vote is silent—silent when it comes to garbage collection, police brutality, rats, even discrimination—unless they register to vote.

"Once they have seen that each vote is as important as any other vote and know that voting sets the policy until the next election, they will register and vote. Education, work experience and social position do not by themselves make citizens alert and active. Wanting to vote and know-how do."

B. Who Votes for Whom?

Which candidates do different types of American voters tend to choose in Presidential elections? Studies of voter behavior during the past three decades have substantiated these tendency statements about voter choices in Presidential elections.[10]

1. Individuals of upper socioeconomic status are more likely than individuals of lower socioeconomic status to vote for the Republican candidates. Individuals of lower socioeconomic status are more likely than individuals of upper socioeconomic status to vote for the Democratic candidates.
2. Individuals with professional, business, white-collar, and farm occupations are more likely than manual workers to vote for the Republican candidates. Manual workers are more likely than professionals, businessmen, white-collar workers, and farmers to vote for the Democratic candidates.
3. Blacks tend to vote for the Democratic candidates.
4. College graduates are more likely than non-college graduates to vote for the Republican candidates. Individuals of lower educational attainment tend to vote for the Democratic candidates.
5. Younger individuals are more likely than older individuals to vote for the Democratic candidates. Older individuals are more likely than younger individuals to vote for the Republican candidates.
6. Farmers are more likely to vote for Republican candidates than other manual workers are.

These generalizations are useful guides to political reality in our society. However, to avoid misinterpretation, one must realize that generalizations derived from voter behavior research, about the correlates of voter choices, are tendency statements and past-tense statements. There are obvious exceptions to each of the generalizations and future social circumstances may overturn these voting behavior trends. It is wise to remember that there are poor Republicans and wealthy Democrats; there are big city Republicans and small town Democrats; some manual laborers are Republicans and some business executives are Democrats; and so forth for all relationships discussed previously. Despite the tendencies of certain social groups to support the Republicans and others to support the Democrats, no social group can be counted upon to support a particular political party in every election. The political party allegiances of different social groups, though unchanging for many years, may shift in future elections. Political surprises in elections are always possible, and political predictions remain hazardous.

Circumstances pertinent to a particular election can influence departures from past voting tendencies of certain social groups. For example, during the past thirty years, blacks have tended to vote Democratic. In the 1964 Presidential election, the mostly black Ward 17 in Baltimore gave 95 percent of its votes to Lyndon Johnson. However, in 1966, these same black voters of Ward 17 gave most of their votes for governor to the Republican candidate, Spiro Agnew. Black voters believed that the Democratic nominee, George Mahoney, opposed open-housing laws for Maryland which they favored. Thus, these offended black voters, who usually supported the Democratic party, boosted the candidacy of a Republican.[11] Another example of voter turnabout was the 1964 Presidential election when many typical Republican voters switched to the Democratic candidate because of distaste for many of the views of the Republican candidate, Barry Goldwater. In 1968, most of these "switchers" were back in the Republican camp and voted for Nixon.

Numerous other examples could be offered to indicate that particular issues or candidates can influence groups who normally support one party to switch to the opposing party's candidate. Thus, students of elections must not believe that social correlates of voter behavior are causal determinants or absolute predictors. There are no "iron laws" of voter behavior in a complex political world where most voters are neither mindless nor foolish and where many voters try to think for themselves about how to wisely use the ballot.[12]

What are the key factors which influence the candidate preferences of younger and older voters in Presidential elections? Political scientists tell us that social group membership, a political party preference, ideological orientation, response to current issues, and response to particular candidates are among the important intertwining factors which influence a voter's choices among competing candidates in a public election.[13]

Strong relationships have been identified between social group membership, or identification, and voting behavior. Election statistics indicate the strong tendencies of certain social groups to consistently prefer either the Democrats or Republicans. These voting tendencies are discussed on pages 63 to 65 of this chapter.

Social group membership or identification usually influences an individual's political beliefs and attitudes.[14] There are fundamentally two different types of social groups to which an individual belongs: primary groups and secondary groups. *Primary groups* are those which exert a direct and far-reaching influence on an individual's values, attitudes, and behavior. Usually, primary groups are those in which individuals have a close, "face-to-face" relationship. The family, friendship groups, and small groups of fellow workers are examples of primary groups. *Secondary groups* are those which have an indirect and less pervasive influence on individual values, attitudes, and behavior. While individuals may identify, or are identified, with secondary groups, such groups are often too large and amorphous to provide personal contact among all the members. Religious organizations and occupational groupings, such as steelworkers, farmers, and businessmen, are examples of secondary groups.

Primary groups, such as families and friendship groups, tend to include individuals with similar political values and attitudes. For example, close friends tend to have the same political party preferences; husbands, wives, and their children tend to have the same political party preferences; people who work closely together tend to have the same political party preferences. Individuals within a primary group tend to express similar political attitudes because the same general social forces are influencing them. Members of a primary group are likely to be of the same ethnic and religious groups, to be alike in socioeconomic status, to be similar in educational background, occupations, and general lifestyle. Thus, the same broad range of social forces is likely to be at work among members of primary groups. This broad range of social forces tends to influence primary groups' members to be alike in many ways. Also, in the process of exchanging information and ideas, primary group members tend mutually to reinforce attitudes and values. An individual who expresses a particular view of the world is typically reassured by others in his primary group that his views are reasonable.

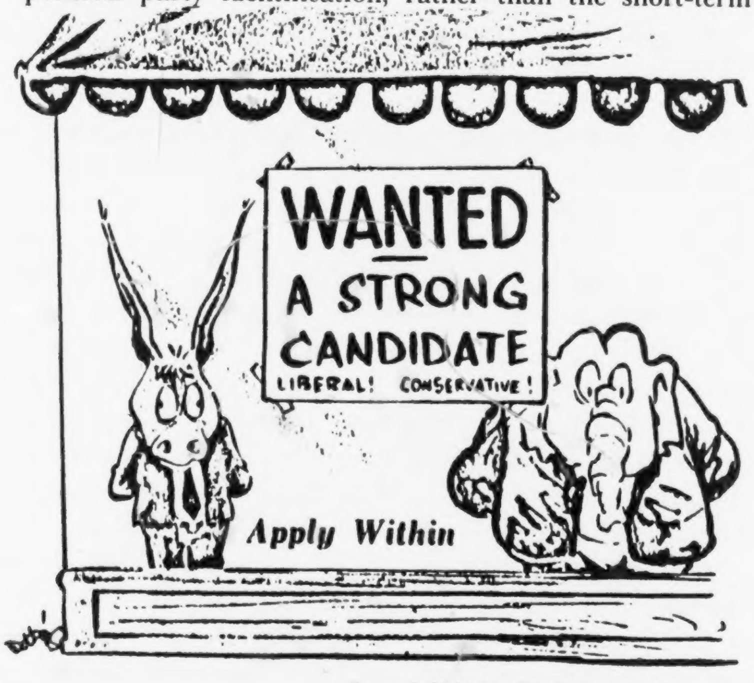
Secondary groups only indirectly influence the political attitudes of individuals. For example, most corporation executives experience similar educational backgrounds, work conditions, income levels, neighborhoods, and social activities. These social forces at work upon corporation executives tend to make them similar in political attitudes and political behavior, even though many corporation executives never come into direct contact with one another. The same kind of relationship typically exists between labor unions (another secondary group) and working-class men who identify strongly with labor unions. For example, most working-class men tend to share the same kind of educational backgrounds, work conditions, income levels, neighborhoods, and social activities. These social forces that are shared by working-class men who identify with labor unions contribute to the development of similar political attitudes and political behavior.

Secondary groups often serve as reference groups for individuals. A reference group serves as a guide to opinion formation. For example, a young boy who is an avid sports fan might use professional baseball players as a reference group. Opinions of baseball players that are presented via the mass media would strongly influence him. Or a labor union might serve as a reference group for a worker. If so, the worker would be influenced by opinions of labor union leaders.

Currently political scientists are debating about the relative importance of political party identification, current issues, and the personal appeal of candidates as influencers of voter choices in elections. The prevailing hypothesis has been that political party identification is the single most important factor influencing voting behavior.

According to the previously prevailing argument, information about a person's political party preference, and the strength of that preference, is the best guide to prediction of voter choices on election day. About 70 percent of the electorate have identified with either the Republican or Democratic parties. A majority of those who have identified with a political party report that they have never identified with a different party. And a majority of political partisans have reported that they have never failed to support their party on election day.[15]

Another indicator of the strength of party identification as an influencer of voter choice is the fact that about one-third of voters have decided whom to support in a Presidential election even before the political parties have held their conventions to nominate candidates. Another one-third of voters have decided whom to support at the time of the conventions. Thus, the Presidential election campaigns, aimed at influencing voter choices through candidate appeal and discussions of issues, have only had an impact on about one-third of the electorate. As indicated above, approximately two-thirds of the voters have decided for whom to vote before the campaign ever starts. Longstanding political party identification, rather than the short-term campaign appeals of candidates and issues, appeared to be the dominant influencer of the voting choices of most of the electorate.



James J. Dobbins, *The Boston Herald Traveler*

What is the influence of a candidate's personality on voter behavior? *Reprinted by permission of James J. Dobbins.*

Another indicator of the strength of political party identification as an influencer of voter choices has been the lack of familiarity of most American voters with issues. Typically, less than one-third of American voters have been able to identify differences between Republican and Democratic policies concerning certain important issues related to foreign aid programs, international involvement, influence of big business in government, influence of unions in government, segregation of schools, aid to education, etc.

Voters who have paid attention to issues typically have used their preferred political party as a reference group. An individual's understanding of how his party's leaders (or followers) have reacted to an issue has colored and influenced his reactions to the same issue. In this way a political party identity has served as a filter for political attitudes and beliefs about issues. Rather than carefully studying issues prior to making decisions about policies, most voters have used their understanding of their political party's position as a guide to their own position about an issue.

A minority of voters have been normally influenced by the twin factors of issues and candidates rather than by political party identification. About one-fourth of American voters have not identified with either the Republican or Democratic party. About one-third of the voters have *weakly identified* with either the Republicans or Democrats. These *weak* party identifiers and independents have been the voters most open to the appeals of provocative issues or attractive candidates as main influencers of their voting choices. In close elections, they have determined the outcome. Therefore, these voters have been primary targets of election campaign appeals in tightly contested elections.

Political scientists have developed a social cross-pressure theory to account for the behavior of many voters who switch their party or candidate preferences from election to election or who vote for several candidates of both parties in a particular election.[16] Social cross-pressures tend to undercut the influence of primary and/or secondary groups on political party preferences. Individuals belong to different primary and secondary groups and identify with several reference groups. When different groups with which a person identifies manifest conflicting political preferences, then a cross-pressure situation develops. For example, if one reference group supports a Republican candidate while another reference group supports Democrats, the individual may be caught between two opposing influences. If he respects both reference groups, a cross-pressure situation will exist. The individual is likely to resolve the contradictory influences by not voting, or by splitting his vote between Republican and Democratic candidates.

Many Americans are influenced by cross-pressures. This stabilizes and moderates American politics. Political scientists believe that if most Americans were too strongly partisan, conflicts might become too severe and could lead to violence and turmoil. Furthermore, those influenced by cross-pressures often become "switchers" or "ticket-splitters" who shift voting preferences from party to party. Competing candidates must regularly try to win their support. Often these unpredictable voters hold the power to determine election outcomes. Thus, the rival parties are forced to modify and moderate their views in order to appeal to the "switchers" and "ticket-splitters."

Some political scientists are hypothesizing that during the 1960's, political party identification became less important as an influencer of voter behavior. They contend that ticket-splitting, as opposed to straight-ticket voting, increased enormously, and that the voter behavior of these "ticket-splitters" was guided primarily by their reaction to certain key issues and the positions of the candidates on these issues.[17]

The revisors of the prevailing hypotheses about voter behavior predict that the addition of several million young people to the national electorate in the 1970's will increase the incidence of "ticket-splitting" and independence from hard-line political party appeals. These analysts note the large proportion of the young voters who refuse to identify with either major party or who identify only weakly, or casually, with a major political party. As indicated in Table 4, a big difference between the new young voters and older voters is the much greater proportion of "independents" among the under-twenty-one age group.

TABLE 4: Political Party Preferences of Younger and Older Voters, 1971[18]

AGE GROUP	POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE		
	Republican	*Democratic*	*Independent*
21 and Over	27%	45%	28%
18–21	18%	38%	42%

The difference between younger and older voters in identifying as "independents" is magnified when one realizes that a large proportion of the "independents" among the over-twenty-one voters are in the 21-29 age group, as indicated in Table 5.

TABLE 5: Political Affiliations by Age Groups, 1968[19]

Age Group	*Republican*	*Democratic*	*Independent*
21–29 years	22%	38%	40%
30–40 years	24%	48%	28%
50 and Older	31%	48%	21%

Some analysts speculate that the new young voters will accentuate the importance of issues and candidate appeal as determiners of voter choices. They do not dismiss the likely importance of political party identification as a main influencer of voter behavior in the 1970's. Rather, they hypothesize that political party identification will be a less important factor than previously, and issues will loom larger than before in the deliberations of voters.

If the new hypotheses about voter behavior are correct, perhaps the 1970's will be a decade of increasingly rational political behavior, a period when political parties and candidates will be held more accountable than before by the voters. According to Walter DeVries and V. Lance Tarrance, prime formulators of new hypotheses about voter behavior, "The ticket splitters are the most discriminating voters in our democratic system and offer the best hope for the revitalization of our unique American democracy. They will be the third force in the politics of the 1970's—they are the new independent electorate."[20]

Perhaps the increase in the number of "independents" and "ticket-splitters" indicates the imminence of a fundamental realignment of the social bases of the major political parties. For example, the Democratic party, which has dominated national politics for the past forty years, may increasingly have difficulty in maintaining the coalition of social forces which have provided the base for their electoral success. Will the Democratic party continue to be a "home" for such disparate groups as blacks, labor unionists, lower-class whites, and upper-middle-class intellectual liberals? Will the Republicans be able to create and maintain an "emerging majority" out of the splinters from the Democratic party edifice? Will the Wallace movement precipitate a major political party realignment? The social cataclysms of the 1930's led to the major political realignments which have dominated American politics in recent times. If the social turmoil of the 1960's continues into the 1970's, the grounds for another major change in the social bases of U.S. politics may be created.

C. The Wallace Voter

Many independent voters or "ticket-splitters" have been attracted to the Presidential aspirations of George C. Wallace, governor of Alabama. Wallace has been a Democrat in Alabama state politics, but in the Presidential election of 1968 he ran as the candidate of his self-styled American Independent party. A high proportion of Wallace's support in 1968 came from those who identify as "independents," rather than as Democrats or Republicans, and from those who did not vote in the 1964 Presidential election, when a Wallace-type alternative was absent. In competition with Republican Richard Nixon and Democrat Hubert Humphrey, Wallace received about 10 million votes, roughly 13.5 percent of the total votes. He won five states, all in the "Deep South," with forty-five electoral votes. Who were the Wallace supporters? Why is the Wallace candidacy appealing to certain social groups?

Seymour M. Lipset and Earl Raab have made a detailed study of the Wallace movement.[21] Lipset and Raab concluded that Wallace voters were more likely to have been low rather than high in income, low rather than high in educational attainment, rural or small-town residents rather than people from metropolitan areas, manual workers rather than businessmen or professional workers, whites rather than non-whites, Protestants rather than Catholics, males rather than females, and Southerners rather than non-Southerners. See Table 6.

TABLE 6: The Wallace Voter in the 1968 Presidential Election[22]

SOCIAL GROUP	PERCENT OF TOTAL IN EACH CATEGORY WHO VOTED FOR WALLACE
Region	
South	34
Non-South	7
Occupation	
Non-Manual	9
Manual	17
Education	
Grade School or Less	19
High School or Less	13
Some College	9
Income	
Under $3,000	16
$3,000–$6,999	19
$7,000–$9,999	12
$10,000–$14,999	8
$15,000 and over	6
Religion	
Roman Catholic	9
Protestant	15
Size of Place	
Rural	19
2,500 to 49,999	14
50,000 to 499,999	11
500,000 to 999,999	10
1,000,000 and over	7
Age	
21–25	17
26–29	15
30-49	13
50 and over	11
Sex	
Men	15
Women	10

Among the more interesting features of the Wallace movement was that younger voters were a bit more likely than their elders to support Wallace. Preelection surveys

(October, 1968) by the Gallup and Harris Polls indicated that voters in the 21-29 age groups were more likely than their elders to support Wallace. Twenty percent of the older voters were for Wallace as compared to 25 percent of the younger voters. The variation between age groups in support for Wallace existed in both southern and non-southern states.[23]

Daniel Yankelovich and associates made a survey in 1968 of the political preferences of older adolescents and young adults which indicated variation among young people in support for Wallace. The young Wallace supporters, like their elders, were likely to be low in educational attainment or aspiration and from blue-collar families. In contrast, support for Wallace was quite low among college, or college-oriented, youth and among those from upper-middle-class families.[24]

The Purdue Opinion Panel, which surveyed the political opinions of high school students in 1968, reported findings similar to those of the Yankelovich survey. Among the 22 percent of high school students across the nation who supported Wallace, these groups were most heavily represented: those from low-income families, those from families with low educational attainment, those from rural areas, those receiving low grades in school, those who did not plan to attend college.[25]

Wallace has received considerable backing among young manual workers. During the 1968 presidential election campaign, older labor union members tended to be for Humphrey. Despite some flirtation with the Wallace movement among the ranks of unionists in general, most reverted to their traditional Democratic party allegiance on election day. However, a disproportionate number of young manual workers maintained their support for Wallace throughout the campaign.[26]

The Wallace sentiments of lower- or working-class white youth spring from various motivations, but prominent among the generators of their Wallace support are feelings of frustration and powerlessness in the face of dynamic social change, which seems to subvert their social status. To many working-class whites, especially the more marginal elements of this group, gains by blacks seem to be at their expense. Attempts to fulfill the "American dream" for blacks are viewed as a nightmare by many marginal whites. Lipset and Raab eloquently label this problem the "New American Dilemma," which is how to redress the legitimate grievances of blacks without at the same time creating legitimate grievances among other disadvantaged groups, how to fulfill the promise of America for blacks without withdrawing that promise from the marginal members of the white working class.

Support for Wallace among younger or older marginal whites is an indicator of the increasingly apparent alienation of many disadvantaged whites, who during the 1960's replaced the black population as the "invisible men" of our society. Wallace's strident anti-elite, anti-establishment diatribes seem to be articulations of their perceived sources of frustrations; his continual "populist" emphasis on the needs of the "little man" feeds their hunger for recognition and respect.

Disproportionate youth support for Wallace in the 1968 Presidential election has been overlooked by many who tend to identify American youth as leftist or liberal. A large percentage of our youth do express left-liberal views. However, as the political opinion studies demonstrate again and again, American youth are not monolithic in their political attitudes or actions. Blue-collar urban or rural youth tend to have different world views than the scions of suburban upper-middle-class families. Political activists at Stanford or Harvard tend to be a different breed of youth than most 20-year-old steelworkers in Gary, nineteen-year-old apprentices in New York City, or 4-H Club members in Iowa.

Members of the National Youth Alliance, a right-wing political organization comprised mainly of Wallace supporters, tend to be vastly different in political orientation and social background from radical left or liberal youth groups. Indeed, the gap in socio-political beliefs between NYA members and liberal-left youth groups is much wider than the currently celebrated generation gap. According to Lipset and Raab, the burning socio-political issues of the 1960's radicalized a large segment of American youth, but in different ways. "Hence, while the upper middle-class scions of liberal parents were being radicalized to the left by the civil rights and Vietnam War issues, southern and northern working-class youth were being radicalized to the right. The consequences of such polarization can be seen in the disparate behavior of the two groups in the 1968 election campaign."[27]

Wallace voters, younger and older, tend to be united by opposition to social change, especially social change designed and prompted by the federal government, or the so-called "liberal establishment." Negrophobia is also a prominent feature of the Wallace supporters, but mainly because blacks seem to be "corporeal bearers and symbols of change." Anti-black feelings are undoubtedly a prominent characteristic of many Wallace voters. However, according to Lipset and Raab, anti-Negro sentiment is a secondary rather than the primary bond between Wallace supporters. "The common bond that really sewed together this coalition was backlash against changes."[28]

The "backlash against change" seems to be the only cement strong enough to bind the seemingly disparate elements of the Wallace movement. Although Wallace's strength is predominately among the marginal white working class in the South, with a smattering of similar supporters nationally, he also receives backing from some middle-class types who belong to conservative organizations such as the John Birch Society. The middle-class conservative types who support Wallace tend to be protesting against "big government" and the "bureaucratic abuses of the Welfare state." In contrast the marginal white workers who support Wallace tend to favor his "populist" economic views, and his stand on issues pertaining to civil rights. Many so-called "true conservatives" eventually repudiated Wallace during the 1968 campaign because of the social welfare elements of his "populist" platform.

What has been the impact of the Wallace movement on American politics? Will the Wallace movement be the precipitator of new political alignments during the 1970's? Will the Wallace movement, like past successful third party movements in the United States, be absorbed by one or both of the major parties? Or will the Wallace movement fade away as the discontents which fuel the movement become alleviated or mollified? These are among the more interesting political questions to be answered during the coming decade. Questions about controversial areas of American life, such as the Wallace movement, are most suitable for inquiry in the social studies classroom. Data and interpretations supplied by social scientists, such as Lipset and Raab, are the appropriate foundations for inquiry about controversial topics by students in the social studies classroom.

D. Sample Lessons for the Social Studies Classroom

During the recent past much survey research has been conducted about the behavior and opinions of American voters. Very little of the data generated by these research efforts has become part of the subject matter of secondary-school social studies courses. In order to learn how to confirm or reject propositions about voter behavior, social studies students must have the opportunity to use statistical data of the type presented in "Sample Lesson Number Five."

Sample Lesson Number Five

VOTING TENDENCIES OF VARIOUS GROUPS IN RECENT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS [29]

Which candidates do different kinds of American voters tend to choose in Presidential elections? Relationships between several variables and candidate preferences of voters in Presidential elections are indicated in Table 7. This table reveals that in five consecutive Presidential elections certain social groups tended to prefer either the Democratic or Republican candidates.

On the basis of information presented in Table 7, what generalizations can you make about the relationship of the following variables to voter choices in Presidential elections:

a. educational attainment
b. occupation
c. racial identity
d. age group
e. sex identity
f. religious identity
g. political party preference

TABLE 7: Percentage of Votes by Groups in Presidential Elections, 1952–1968[30]

	1952		1956		1960		1964		1968		
	Dem. %	*Rep.* %	*D* %	*R* %	*D* %	*R* %	*D* %	*R* %	*D* %	*R* %	*Wallace* %
NATIONAL	44.6	55.4	42.2	57.8	50.1	49.9	61.3	38.7	43.0	43.4	13.6
Men	47	53	45	55	52	48	60	40	41	43	16
Women	42	58	39	61	49	51	62	38	45	43	12
White	43	57	41	59	49	51	59	41	38	47	15
Nonwhite	79	21	61	39	68	32	94	6	85	12	3
College	34	66	31	69	39	61	52	48	37	54	9
High school	45	55	42	58	52	48	62	38	42	43	15
Grade school	52	48	50	50	55	45	66	34	52	33	15
Prof. & bus.	36	64	32	68	42	58	54	46	34	56	10
White collar	40	60	37	63	48	52	57	43	41	47	12
Manual	55	45	50	50	60	40	71	29	50	35	15
Farmers	33	67	46	54	48	52	53	47	29	51	20
Under 30	51	49	43	57	54	46	64	36	47	38	15
30–49	47	53	45	55	54	46	63	37	44	41	15
50 & Older	39	61	39	61	46	54	59	41	41	47	12
Protestant	37	63	37	63	38	62	55	45	35	49	16
Catholic	56	44	51	49	78	22	76	24	59	33	8
Republicans	8	92	4	96	5	95	20	80	9	86	5
Democrats	77	23	85	15	84	16	87	13	74	12	14
Independents	35	65	30	70	43	57	56	44	31	44	25

SOURCE: Estimates from a national survey by the Gallup Poll in *The New York Times*, December 8, 1968.

SAMPLE LESSON NO. 5

Following are descriptions of typical Americans. Use evidence from previous discussions and tables to support your answers to the following questions about these descriptions.

---

1. **In a Presidential election which of the three individuals described below is most likely to vote (a) for the Democratic candidates? (b) for the Republican candidates?**
2. **In a Presidential election which of the three individuals is (a) most likely to vote? (b) least likely to vote?**
3. **What are some weaknesses of attempting to predict political party preference, candidate choice, and likelihood of voting solely on the basis of social characteristics?**

A. Mr. Pietrowski is a steelworker. He is a semi-skilled worker who earns about $8000 a year. He is an officer of his local labor union. He attends the Catholic Church, is a member of the Elks Club, and regularly participates in social activities. He is a high school graduate. He is twenty-six years old and has lived in this large eastern seaboard city all of his life. His father migrated to this country from Poland in 1920.

B. Mr. Young is the owner of a large department store on the main street of a small midwestern city, population about 45,000. He is the president of the local Chamber of Commerce and is a leader in the city's civic and social activities. He earns over $50,000 a year and lives in a plush home on the edge of the city. He attends the Presbyterian Church. He graduated from his state university with a degree in business administration. He is forty-five years old.

C. Mr. Jameson is a migrant laborer. He works at odd jobs on farms or in small rural towns. Every summer and fall he works as a fruit picker. He travels from town to town looking for work. Often he is unemployed. He earns about $4000 a year. He was baptized into the Baptist Church, but rarely attends church services. He does not belong to a labor union or to any social clubs. He dropped out of school at the end of the eighth grade.

* * * * *

Propositions about voter behavior which can be constructed from the data in Table 7 are stated on page 47 of this chapter. Students should be encouraged to test these hypotheses with data about upcoming Presidential elections. Will past patterns of voter behavior characterize an upcoming election? Will peculiar circumstances lead to unusual voter behavior? Will cataclysmic social forces influence a basic realignment of political preferences and voter behavior? Students should be encouraged to organize and interpret data pertinent to these questions.

The second part of the sample lesson requires students to apply knowledge about voter behavior to the analysis of three descriptions of American voters. The answer to question 1 can be derived from Table 7. The answer to question 1a is Mr. Pietrowski. The answer to question 1b is Mr. Young.

The answers to question 2 must be derived from data about various rates of political participation of different social groups. See data presented on pages 51-62 of this chapter. These data indicate that the answer to question 2a is Mr. Young. The answer to question 2b is Mr. Jameson.

Question 3 draws attention to the limitations of these data about voter behavior. These data indicate relationships between variables; they do not determine causality. The data provide substantiation for *tendency statements* about relationships between social characteristics of voters and candidate choices in Presidential elections. There are always exceptions to these statements. The data indicate past tendencies and future possibilities, but they are not absolute predictors. Changes in social conditions can produce changes in any of these propositions about voter behavior. For example, before the 1930's black Americans tended to vote for the Republican candidates. A final limitation of these data is that they tell us nothing about personalities. Thus, they provide no insights about who are the individuals who are exceptions to the norms and why they are exceptions.

Sample Lesson Number Six

The Presidential Election of 1964: A Case Study of Political Strategy and Popular Response

Students can become more knowledgeable about Presidential elections in the United States by trying to analyze past and present elections. "Sample Lesson Number Six" is a case study of the 1964 Presidential election which students can be required to analyze in terms of questions, on pages 73-74, which are applicable to any Presidential election in our country. Students can use this set of questions to help them analyze an upcoming Presidential election.

Lyndon B. Johnson won the largest vote of any Presidential candidate in history in 1964 and led the Democratic party to an overwhelming national victory. The following table shows the extent of the Democratic party victory in the 1964 national elections.

TABLE 8: Results of 1964 Elections

President	*Popular Vote*	*Electoral Vote*	
Lyndon B. Johnson	43,128,956	486	
Barry Goldwater	27,177,873	52	
House of Representatives	*Old Lineup*	*Gains/ Losses*	*New Lineup*
Democrats	257	+38	295
Republicans	178	-38	140
Senate			
Democrats	66	+2	68
Republicans	34	-2	32
Governors			
Democrats	34	-1	33
Republicans	16	+1	17

President Johnson carried 44 states and the District of Columbia. Senator Goldwater won six states: his own state of Arizona plus five "deep South" states. President Johnson's percentage of the total popular vote was 61 percent, the greatest percentage ever attained in an American Presidential election.

What accounted for the massive Democratic party victory in 1964? Why did the Republicans lose by such a great margin? Following is a brief commentary about key aspects of the 1964 campaign: the socio-political situation, the response of the political parties to the prevailing socio-political situation, the response of the electorate to the Presidential candidates and party platforms presented by the political parties, the political campaign strategies of the Presidential candidates, and the response of the electorate to the political campaigns of the Presidential candidates.

The Socio-Political Situation in 1964

Even before his nomination by acclamation at the Democratic party convention in August, President Lyndon B. Johnson was favored to win the Presidential election of 1964. As President he commanded many resources denied to his opposition, including the vast communications and transportation facilities of the federal government. His utterances were front-page news, and he had inherited the administration of the tragic and admired John F. Kennedy, who had been assassinated in November, 1963. Many Americans had been attracted to President Johnson as a result of his efforts to implement the Kennedy programs. The existence of prosperity and general national well-being further enhanced the prospects that President Johnson would be reelected in November, 1964.

Given the advantages cited above, most political observers agreed that it would be difficult to defeat President Johnson in the Presidential election of 1964. Political observers agreed that the Republicans needed a candidate with great personal appeal and with a program that fitted the prevailing climate of public opinion to even run a good race, let alone win the Presidency, against the incumbent.

What was the prevailing climate of political opinion in 1964? What political issues were attracting public attention? What was the substance of the political culture? A political attitude survey made in 1964, and reported by Lloyd Free and Hadley Cantril, provides the basis for partial answers to these questions.

Cantril and Free reported the following conclusions based on a nationally representative sample of Americans in 1964.[31]

1. The public tended to support certain kinds of federal government social and welfare programs, such as federal government grants to help build low-rent public housing, urban renewal, federal aid to education, a medicare program for the elderly, federally financed programs to reduce unemployment and poverty.
2. The public tended to support certain kinds of government regulation of business in the public interest.
3. The public tended to believe racial integration was proceeding too rapidly.
4. The public's ranking of "national fears" was: war, communism, economic instability, racial conflict, national disunity and political instability.
5. The public's ranking of "national hopes" was: peace, improved standard of living, fuller employment, more and better schools, settlement of racial conflicts, improved public morality.

A poll conducted by the Gallup organization in 1964 showed that 75 percent of the electorate was in favor of "federal aid to depressed areas, that is, where unemployment has been high over a long period." Sixty-six percent supported increased federal government spending for the building of nursing homes for old people. A Harris survey showed that 70 percent of the public supported the anti-poverty program.[32]

The orientation of the voting public toward government regulation of business in the public interest and toward government welfare programs is shown by the following table. In Table 9 "liberal" means to be in favor of maintaining or increasing government regulation of business and maintaining or increasing government welfare programs. "Conservative" means to be in favor of either limiting or eliminating government regulation of business and government welfare programs.

TABLE 9: Political Party Identification and Ideological Orientation[33]

	Republicans	*Independents*	*Democrats*
Liberal	41%	59%	79%
Middle of the road	30	24	16
Conservative	29	17	5

The Response of the Political Parties to the Prevailing Socio-Political Situation

How did the Republican and Democratic parties react to the socio-political situation of 1964 when selecting Presidential candidates? Following a tradition started by the Democratic party in 1832, both major political parties met in convention to nominate Presidential candidates. Delegates to the conventions were selected by each state to represent and vote for the state in the conventions. Delegates to the conventions were selected in various ways, ranging from appointment by political leaders in some states to election by the public in Presidential preference primary elections in other states.

The Republican convention was held in San Francisco at the end of July. Senator Barry Goldwater was nominated on the first ballot. He chose William Miller of New York as his Vice-Presidential candidate. However, Goldwater's nomination split the Republican party badly. Goldwater's political style and beliefs were unacceptable to certain major leaders of the Republican party, such as Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York, Senator Kenneth Keating of New York, and Governor George Romney of Michigan. The Republican leaders who opposed Goldwater said that he was an extremist. They argued that Goldwater's beliefs did not represent the thinking of a majority of Republicans and that Goldwater could not attract the needed votes of political independents. They predicted that he would be a loser and declined to support his political campaign.

There was evidence for the view that Barry Goldwater was the minority candidate of a minority party. Early in 1964 a poll was taken that asked a national sample of the electorate to rank the candidates for the Presidency. The results of this poll showed that Goldwater ranked fourth among Republican voters in a field of six Republican candidates. Richard Nixon, Henry Cabot Lodge, and George Romney ranked ahead of Goldwater. The total electorate—Republican, Democratic, and Independent voters—ranked Goldwater last in a field of six Republicans. Another poll showed that less than 20 percent of all Republican voters preferred Goldwater as their Presidential candidate at the time of the Republican party nominating convention.

How did Goldwater, a minority candidate within the rank-and-file of his own party, obtain a majority of the votes at the Republican convention? There are several reasons that account for Goldwater's convention victory.

First, the Republican support for candidates opposed to Goldwater was split among four other men: Henry Cabot Lodge, William Scranton, Nelson Rockefeller, and George Romney.

Second, opposition to the Goldwater candidacy was disorganized and slow to take shape. Goldwater's opponents refused to take him seriously until it was virtually too late to stop him.

Third, the political party convention did not necessarily reflect public opinion. A majority of delegates to the Presidential nominating conventions of 1964 were chosen not by "the people," but directly by state party leaders or by state party conventions. A minority of the delegates were chosen in party primary elections by vote of "the people." Thus, the majority of the delegates at the Republican Party convention were more likely to represent the political ideas of party leaders rather than the political ideas of the mass of party followers. Barry Goldwater had become a favorite of the party leaders across the nation. He had worked hard for the losing Presidential bid of Richard Nixon in 1960 and had won the admiration of Republican leaders. He had supported the political campaigns of Republican candidates for local, state, and national offices across the country. These same leaders later felt obliged to support Goldwater in his bid for the Republican nomination.

Fourth, the "conservative" political ideas of Goldwater appealed to Republican party leaders more than to Republican party followers. They believed that past Republican failures could be blamed on the efforts by Republican candidates to copy or to accept Democratic political ideas. But Barry Goldwater represented a bold and striking contrast to Democratic party political thinking. Many Republican leaders saw Goldwater's distinctive political ideas as the key to election success. The Republican party platform adopted at the convention reflected Goldwater's "conservative" political ideas. Following are some excerpts from this platform:

> Within our Republic the Federal Government should act only in areas where it has constitutional authority to act, and then only in respect to proven needs where individuals and local or state governments will not or cannot adequately perform. . . .
>
> We pledge to continue Republican sponsorship of practical federal-state-local programs which will effectively treat the needs of the poor, while resisting direct federal handouts that erode away individual self-reliance and self-respect and perpetuate dependency. . . .
>
> We pledge . . . tax credits and other means of assistance to help needy senior citizens meet the costs of medical and hospital insurance; we pledge full coverage of all medical and hospital costs for the needy elderly people, financed by general revenues through broader implementation of federal-state plans. . . .

The Democratic party convention, held in August, was very different in tone from the Republican convention. The nomination was a foregone conclusion. Lyndon B. Johnson was the President. He ruled in the shadow of the assassinated John F. Kennedy. No one in the Democratic party rose to challenge his bid for Presidential election. He was nominated by acclamation and chose Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator from Minnesota, as his running mate.

In contrast to the Republicans, the Democratic party convention was a show of party unity and harmony. In his acceptance speech Johnson promised to continue and to expand the tradition of social welfare programs that had become a hallmark of Democratic party policy since the days of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Following are some excerpts from the Democratic party platform:

> The first responsibility of government at every level is to protect the basic freedoms of the people. No government at any level can properly complain of violation of its power, if it fails to meet its responsibilities. . . . The federal government exists not to subordinate the states, but to support them.
>
> We will carry the war on poverty forward as a total war against the causes of human want . . . to help the physically handicapped and mentally disadvantaged.

> We will continue to fight until we have succeeded in including hospital care for older Americans in the Social Security Program and have ensured adequate assistance to those elderly people suffering from mental illness and mental retardation. . . .
>
> The Social Security Program initiated and developed under the national leadership of the Democratic party and in the face of ceaseless partisan opposition contributes greatly to the strength of the nation. We must ensure that those who have contributed to the system shall share in the steady increase in our standard of living by adjusting benefit levels. . . .

Campaign Strategies of the Rival Candidates

Barry Goldwater and his Republican supporters waged a hard-hitting campaign. They realized that they faced a difficult, "uphill" campaign battle. Yet, persistent optimism and a firm faith in the "rightness" of their cause motivated the Goldwater forces to wage a spirited fight.

Goldwater based his campaign strategy upon three assumptions: First, he argued that the American people were ready to embrace "conservative" political ideas. Goldwater believed that they wanted a clear-cut alternative to the big-government, welfare-program policies of the Democrats. According to Goldwater, Republican candidates had failed in the past, because they tried too hard to be like the Democrats. Goldwater claimed that his policies would attract Republican support as never before. He argued that too many Republican voters were staying away from the polls on election day, because neither the Republican nor the Democratic Presidential candidates were attractive choices. Thus, Goldwater's campaign slogan became "a choice, not an echo," which reflected his belief that his candidacy would attract large numbers of "stay-at-home" Republicans to his banner. Also, Goldwater sincerely believed that the tide of public opinion was rising in favor of his "conservative" political policies and values.

The second major assumption around which Goldwater built his campaign strategy was that he could win the Presidency without appealing to the large urban areas of the North and Northeast. Rather, he hoped to combine traditional Republican strength in the West and Middle-West, rural and small-town centers, with newly won support in the South. Goldwater believed that this combination of states would bring enough electoral votes to gain the Presidency. His attempts to attract support from the once solidly Democratic South was a new departure for a Republican party Presidential candidate.

Goldwater's third major assumption was that his "conservative" stand on several current issues would attract the support of the American people. He took a "hard line" against Communist nations, vowing to use military force without hesitation to check Communist expansion around the world. He stated that field commanders might have the option of using tactical nuclear weapons in the Vietnam conflict. He gave the impression that he wanted to escalate the nation's military involvement in Vietnam.

Concerning domestic issues, Goldwater suggested that major government welfare programs should be limited. He said that disadvantaged people should not look to the government for assistance. Rather, they should rely on individual initiative: they should "pull themselves up by their own bootstraps." During the New Hampshire primary, he suggested that the Social Security Program be made voluntary. Later, he attacked proposals for medical assistance to the aged. A major theme of the Goldwater campaign was denunciation of "big government" as an enemy of individual initiative and freedom.

Concerning race relations and civil rights, Goldwater favored local control and individual efforts to achieve harmony in race relations. He opposed the Civil Rights Law of 1964, because it gave the federal government power to force mixing of the races in places of business. He claimed that this was a denial of property rights and individual freedom. This stand attracted wide support in the southern states.

Goldwater believed that the nation was turning to support of "conservative" political beliefs. His assistants carefully studied letters to editors of newspapers, newspaper editorials, and political commentary in magazines. They noted that a majority of the political beliefs expressed in these newspapers and magazines appeared to agree with the political beliefs of Goldwater.

Lyndon Johnson's campaign strategy contrasted greatly with Goldwater's strategy. Johnson proposed a "war on poverty" and the building of a "Great Society." The power and resources of the federal government would be used to extend educational and economic opportunities. Johnson's proposals were directly in line with the "New Deal" policies of the Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "New Frontier" program of President John F. Kennedy.

Johnson charged that Goldwater was hostile to the interests of organized labor and of manual workers. He claimed that a Goldwater victory would threaten the economic security of manual workers. Johnson also pictured

Goldwater as "trigger happy" and warlike, because of his "hard-line" approach to relations with Communist nations.

Popular Reactions to the Candidates, Issues, and Campaigns

From the moment of his nomination, Goldwater faced the problem of reuniting his badly divided party. Three out of four Henry Cabot Lodge supporters refused to support the Goldwater candidacy. Two out of three Nelson Rockefeller supporters refused to back Goldwater. Goldwater was not able to bring back the embittered portions of his party. One of every five traditional Republican voters deserted him on election day. In addition, a majority of independent voters supported Johnson. By contrast, Johnson attracted a broad cross-section of groups in the American electorate.

Goldwater's election strategy succeeded only in the South, where he won five "deep South" states. For the first time, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina went Republican in a Presidential election. Why was Goldwater's campaign strategy successful in the "deep South"? Why was it such a massive failure in the rest of the country? Use the following set of questions to guide your analysis of the Presidential election campaign of 1964.

1. What was the social and political situation prior to the Presidential election campaign?
   a. What was the prevailing climate of political opinion?
   b. What issues were dividing the public?
   c. What changes were occurring in the political culture?
2. How did the political parties respond to the current social and political situation?
   a. How did the leaders of the major political parties interpret the current socio-political situation?
   b. How did these interpretations affect the nomination of Presidential candidates?
   c. How did these interpretations affect the party platforms?
   d. How accurate were these interpretations of the current socio-political situation?
3. How did the voting public respond to the choice of Presidential candidates and the party platforms presented by the political parties?
   a. What was the electorate's initial response to the candidates following their nomination?

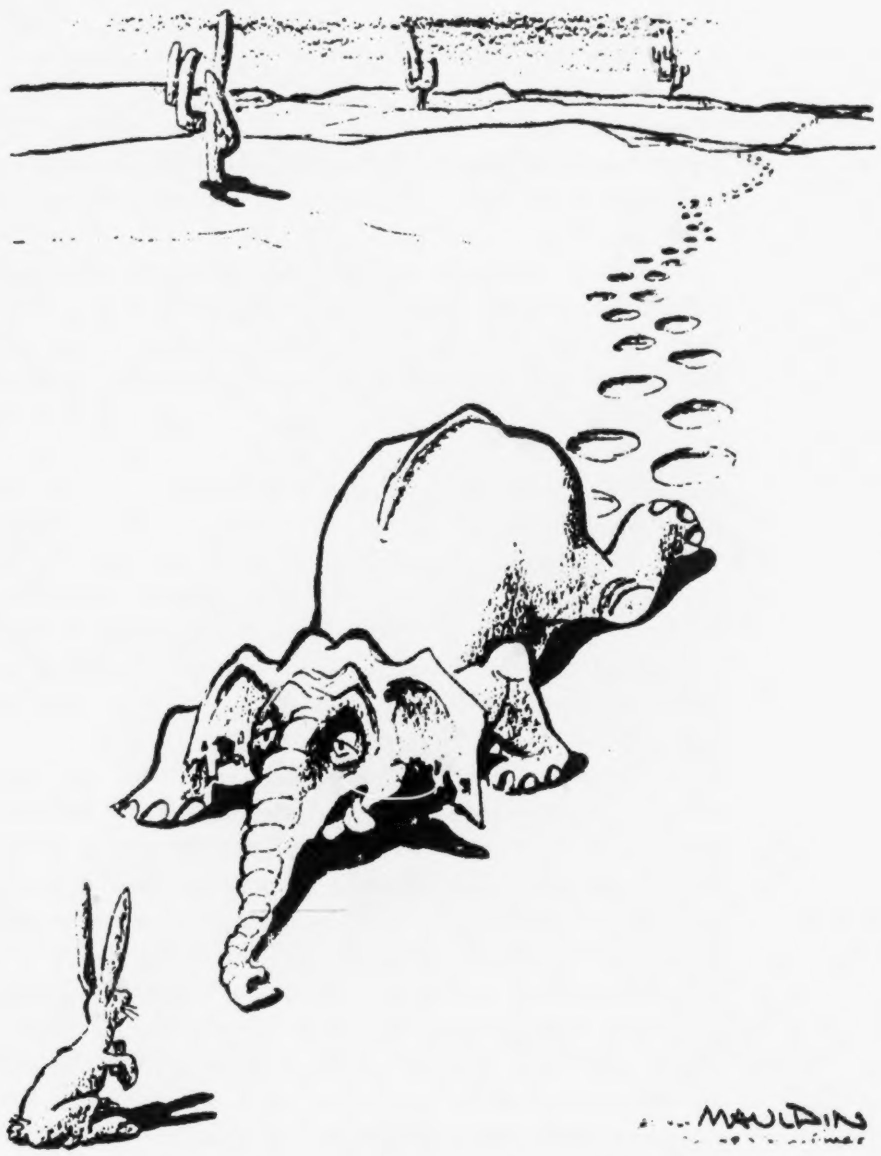
  b. Why did the electorate respond this way? Comment about prevailing party loyalties, the relationship of prevailing public opinion and the political values and attitudes of the candidates and the personal characteristics of the candidates.

4. How did the candidates attempt to win the Presidency?
   a. What were the major elements of the campaign strategies of the Presidential candidates?
   b. How did the candidates' perceptions of the socio-political situation influence their campaign strategies?
   c. How did the electorate's initial response to the candidates influence their campaign strategies?

5. What is your evaluation of the campaign strategies of the Presidential candidates?
   a. How well did the campaign strategies fit the prevailing socio-political situation?
   b. How well did the personal characteristics of the candidates—values, attitudes, style—suit the tastes of the voters?
   c. What were the major mistakes and/or strong points of the political campaign strategies and the political behavior of the candidates?

* * * * *

Students should be able to uncover several important reasons for the massive Democratic party victory in the 1964 elections. *First*, the Democratic candidate was the incumbent and was able to use the vast resources of the Presidency to assist his campaign. *Second*, the Democratic party program more nearly fitted the prevailing socio-political climate than did the Republican party program. *Third*, the Republican party candidate was the minority choice of a minority party, which from the beginning of the campaign put him in a disadvantaged position. *Fourth*, Republican party campaign strategy divided the Republican party so badly that many Republicans voted for Lyndon Johnson. *Fifth*, the Republican party campaign strategy turned the political independents toward support of the Democrats. *Sixth*, the Republican party campaign strategy assumed that many Republican supporters had been staying away from the polls in previous elections. This was not true; there was no vast reservoir of undercover Republican voting strength. Indeed, the Republican party



"Which way to the mainstream?"

What is Mauldin's evaluation of Republican party campaign strategy in the 1964 Presidential election? *Copyright © 1964* Chicago Sun-Times. *Reproduced by courtesy of Wil-Jo Associates and Bill Mauldin.*

identifiers had been more likely than the Democratic identifiers to turn out to vote in previous elections. *Seventh*, the Republican party campaign strategy assumed a highly conservative climate of opinion in the nation. As indicated by numerous opinion polls, this was not true.

An article in the June, 1965 issue of the *American Political Science Review* presents a thoroughgoing analysis of why the Republicans lost so overwhelmingly in 1964.[34] The authors, Philip Converse, Aage Clausen, and Warren

Miller stress the fact that Goldwater and his aides overemphasized the notion of a hidden and long inert Republican vote. Indeed, Republican party supporters have been far more active in political campaigns than have Democratic party supporters. In part, this reflects the higher socioeconomic status of the typical Republican as compared to the typical Democrat. For example, in 1964, about one-third of the Republicans were donating money to their party's cause as compared to less than one-tenth of the Democrats. In part this is because Republicans are more likely to be able to afford financial contributions than are Democrats. Also in 1964, about one-fourth of Republican party supporters attended campaign meetings or rallies as compared to less than one-tenth of the Democrats. Again, this higher participation rate of Republicans is related to the higher socioeconomic status of many Republicans. Many more Republicans than Democrats can find a direct relation between political campaign activities and their occupational activities. Many more Republicans than Democrats have had a chance to be educated in the skills and understandings of political participation. The political socialization process at upper socioeconomic status levels of society tends to produce individuals with high political efficacy, interest, and information. By contrast the political socialization process at lower socioeconomic status levels tends to produce individuals with low political efficacy, interest, and information. Since many upper socioeconomic status individuals identify with the Republican party, the Republican party is able to draw upon a higher percentage of their members for participation in a political campaign. About the same number of Democrats as Republicans actively become involved in campaigns, although the rate (or percentage) of Republican participation is much higher.

Converse, Clausen, and Miller also stress the inadequacy of the Goldwater group's attempt to measure public opinion by reading newspaper editorials, magazine commentary, and letters to editors, which led the Goldwater group to believe that there was a vast pool of conservative political opinion in the country.[35] They note that this source of evidence overemphasizes higher socioeconomic status groups. These are the individuals who tend to manage, read, and write for newspapers and magazines. The upper socioeconomic status individual is also more likely to write a letter to an editor than is the lower socioeconomic status individual. By contrast, public opinion polls sampled the opinion of all groups in the society in proportion to their overall numbers in the society. Thus, the public opinion polls were more likely to be accurate reflectors of national political opinion in 1964 than was commentary in newspapers and magazines. The Republicans, by ignoring the public opinion poll data, misread the climate of opinion in the country.

The questions which are presented in "Sample Lesson Number Six" as guides to the analysis of this case can be used to guide the analysis of any Presidential election. Social studies teachers might wish to have some of their students use these questions for the purpose of doing a case study of an upcoming Presidential election. These questions can guide student organization and interpretation of data. The questions can also serve as the structure for students' development of their own case studies about the next Presidential election.

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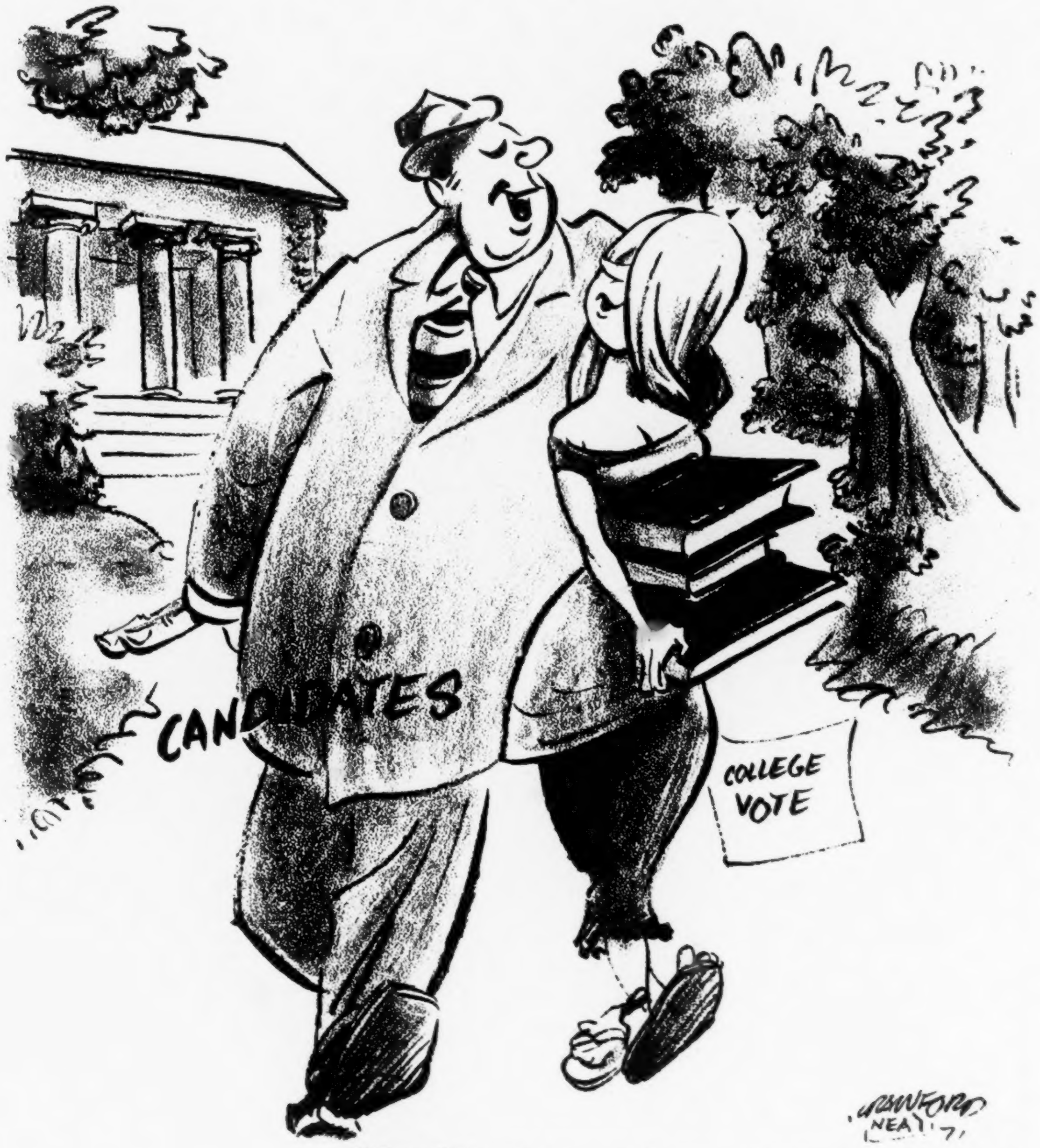
NOTES

"May I Carry Your Books?"


CANDIDATES
COLLEGE VOTE
CRANFORD NEA '71

What will be the impact of young voters on candidates and elections? *Reprinted by permission of Newspaper Enterprise Association.*

4

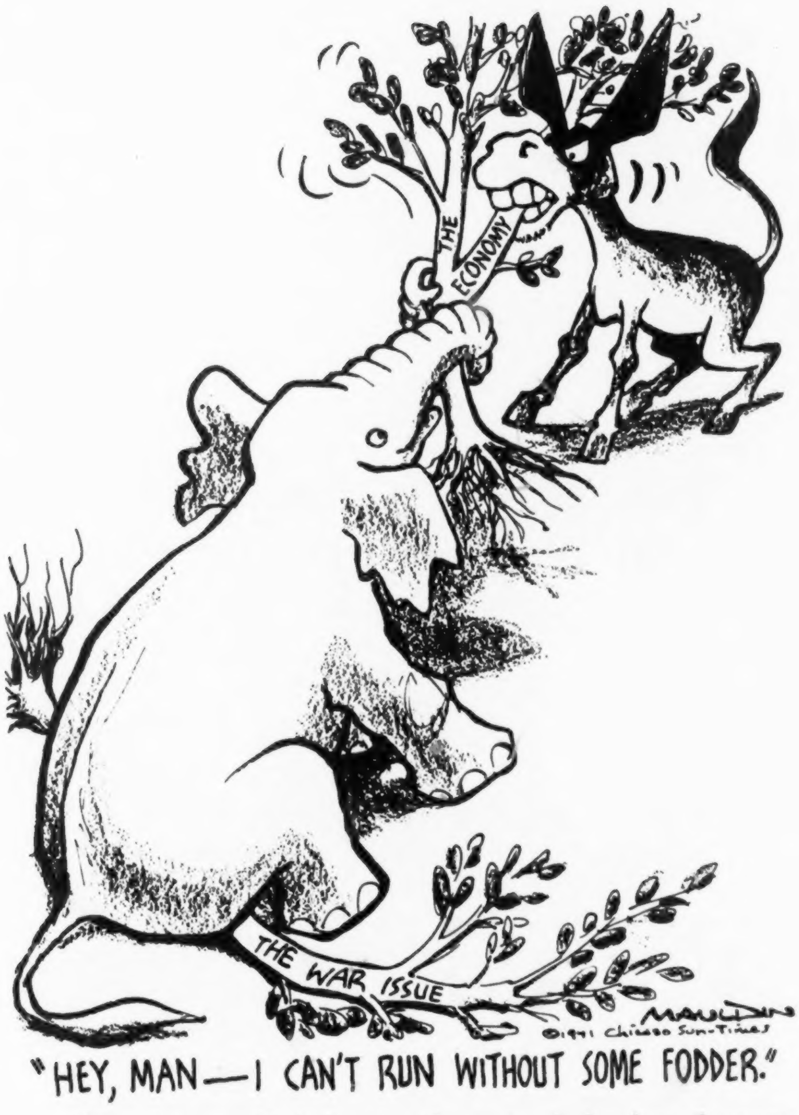
THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF YOUNG VOTERS

Who are the "young voters"? What do they believe? Will they participate extensively in the electoral process? If so, will their votes change the direction of American politics? These are some of the questions asked by politicians, social scientists, and other political observers as they attempt to speculate about the effects of the enfranchisement of over eleven million new young voters. The answers to these questions are of significance not only to the politicians who are seeking election but are also of importance to the development of American domestic and foreign policy.

Social studies teachers may use the same questions to guide student discussions about young voters. The social studies teacher must be aware, however, that many of the answers to these questions are quite tentative. The overall impact of young voters on the political process in the United States may take many years to fully develop; therefore, one must be careful not to reach conclusions too hastily.

A. The Young Voter: A General Description

The new voter is often pictured as a young student activist living in a college community who usually supports some maverick candidate. This picture undoubtedly has some credibility. One need only to think back to the Robert Kennedy-Eugene McCarthy campaigns of 1968 to find



"HEY, MAN—I CAN'T RUN WITHOUT SOME FODDER."

What issues will influence the voter behavior of young people? *Copyright © 1971* Chicago Sun-Times. *Reproduced by courtesy of Wil-Jo Associates, Inc. and Bill Mauldin.*

support for this description. The mass media also have developed the stereotype of the young radical-activist.

Although a large number of today's young voters are college-age, a majority are not college students. A Census Bureau study of youth between ages 18-21 found that only 4 million young people classify themselves as students. Therefore, a vast majority, 7 million young voters, are individuals who are non-students. Some are working in a variety of white collar and blue collar positions. Still others are serving in the military, while others are unemployed. One must be careful not to fall into the convenient trap of characterizing most new voters as students. Most new young voters are workers and are very different in their political orientations than their peers in college are.

The "typical" first-time voter more than likely is a white, unmarried, working-class youth with a high school education. The typical new young voter lives in one of the major metropolitan areas of the United States. Most new young voters live with their families—parents, relatives, or wives and children. Most enjoy living standards well above the poverty level; only 13 percent indicate incomes below $5000 a year.[1]

These first-time voters differ significantly from the average adult voters of past elections in four main ways. *First*, the young voters have more education than older voters. Fifty-three percent of all first-time voters are high school graduates. An additional 25.7 percent have had some post-high school training or education. In contrast, 36 percent of the adult population are high school graduates. A high school education is the norm for today's young voter. This is especially true of the individuals in the 18-20-year-old age bracket.

Second, young voters are more critical than older voters of government policies. In 1972 an overriding impatience for the ending of the war in Vietnam dominated their political feelings. Closely tied to these anti-war sentiments are those which focus on various economic issues, especially unemployment. The young voters feel they are being torn asunder by a double-edged sword, with the argument going something like this: "If the United States gets out of Vietnam too fast, unemployment will skyrocket and I will lose my job or not be able to find one. But the war is a senseless one and we can't stay."

Unemployment among youth is three times the national average, and may prove to be the most potent issue in the 1972 national election. Many youth not only want an improved economy but also one developed on a peacetime basis. Young voters tend to feel that monies now being spent on war and the military should be used for domestic issues and problems. Ranked first among these problems is pollution. Following closely behind are the need for unemployment retraining programs, crime prevention, and improved schools. These issues are much more salient for young voters than commitments to foreign aid, military assistance, and space exploration. (See Table 10, page 84.)

Third, young voters do not have the same orientations toward the political parties, candidates, and politicians in general that the adult voter population has. They have much less allegiance to a particular political party than those voters 21 and over. Many first-time voters are very

TABLE 10: New Priorities: How the Young Would Like to See Tax Money Spent[2]

	Spend More	Spend Less
Air, Water Pollution	78%	2%
Job Training for the Unemployed	68%	3%
Organized Crime	56%	4%
Improved Schools	55%	4%
Street Crime	49%	3%
Medicare	48%	4%
Housing for the Poor	51%	11%
Increased Social Security	38%	6%
Public Transportation	26%	14%
Building Highways	15%	25%
Military Defense	14%	33%
Economic Foreign Aid	8%	49%
Space Exploration	10%	68%
Military Foreign Aid	3%	64%

selective and more interested in the man or the issue than in the political party. Forty-two percent of a recent poll of new young voters said that they considered themselves independents. Only 28 percent of older adults called themselves independents. (See Table 4, page 57.) Young voters are a new breed of independent, however. Walter D. Burnham characterizes the youthful independents as having declined identity with either major party "not because they are relatively politically unconscious, but because the structure of electoral politics at the present time turns upon parties, issues, and symbolisms which do not have much meaning in terms of their political values or cognitions."[3]

The type of candidate may also affect whether or not young adults vote. If young voters feel there is no choice between the two major candidates, they may simply abstain. This may be especially true for minority group members who may decide to vote in terms of racial or ethnic concerns. As many as one out of ten young voters may not vote if they feel they have no choice. Some are registering to show they care, but unless offered a political choice, many may refuse to take the lesser of two evils.

If the first-time voter does choose a political party, and most do, the Democratic party is chosen by a 2-1 margin over the Republican party. (See Table 4, on page 57.) Older voters also are more likely to prefer the Democratic party rather than the Republican party as indicated in Table 11. However, many young voters strongly support Republican candidates. A survey in March, 1971, of 50,000 high school juniors and seniors listed in "Who's Who in American

TABLE 11: Political Party Preferences of the American Electorate[4]

Political Party Preference	*Year* 1960	1964	1968	1970	1971
Republican	30%	25%	27%	29%	28%
Democrat	47%	53%	46%	45%	45%
Independent	23%	22%	27%	26%	27%

TABLE 12: Young Voters' Political Ideology[6]

Conservative 20%	Middle of the Road 45%	Liberal 28%

High Schools" indicated considerable support for both President Nixon and the Republican party.[5] Furthermore, some young voters are staunch supporters of George Wallace or other minor party candidates. (See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Wallace support among youth.)

Fourth, young voters are generally considered to be more liberal than older voters. While most first-time voters see themselves as "middle-of-the-roaders" politically, there is a sizeable percentage of young people who see themselves as liberals. (See Table 12.) Some analysts contend that in a clear liberal-conservative race, young voters would add several percentage points to the liberal candidate's final vote. Whether this would be enough for a victory is still open to speculation and debate.

Despite the liberal-left tendencies of many youngsters, it is important to stress that most young Americans are political centrists, as are most older Americans. Several recent Gallup Polls have indicated clearly that many American voters, younger and older, identify themselves as either *moderately* conservative or *moderately* liberal, rather than as very liberal or very conservative. *Moderate* is the key word, which indicates the "middle-of-the-road" political preference of roughly half of the electorate.[7]

Very few young Americans are radicals or revolutionaries. A recent Harris Poll indicated that only five percent of American youth can be labeled radical.[8] This Harris Poll is merely one of several recent studies which show that a very small proportion of young Americans are so politically cynical or alienated as to advocate sweeping basic change in the political system or to urge revolutionary political action.

Young people do not form a political bloc. Their ideological orientations, like the general population's, continue to shift in various directions. As new issues, events, and candidates enter the local and national scene, the attitudes and political actions of the young will continue to change. Just as there are many issues that unite today's young voters, there are many which divide them.

B. Case Study of the 1972 National Election That Can Be Used for Future Analyses of the Accuracy and Inaccuracy of Prediction.

A Challege for Students: **Obtain statistics on the final results of the 1972 national election. Then check these results to determine how accurate were the predictions on pages 86-93. How can you account for the accuracies and inaccuracies in the predictions?**

1. To What Extent Will Young Voters Participate in Elections?

Over 25 million new voters between the ages of 18-24 will have the right to participate in the 1972 Presidential election. Will they take advantage of their constitutional privilege, or will they, like many of their adult counterparts, decide not to cast their ballots? It is impossible to know the exact number of young voters who will choose to vote. However, by examining voting patterns in past elections and using knowledge about the political attitudes of young people, it is possible to hypothesize about the political participation of young people.

Some observers believe that young voters will not be a major factor in the 1972 elections. They point out that young voters have a poor record of participation in elections. In Georgia, Kentucky, Hawaii, and Alaska, where 18-20-year-olds were eligible to vote in the 1968 election, only one-third of the total potential voters cast their ballots. A further comparison of those in the 21-24 age group with older voters yields similar results. Over 70 percent of those individuals between the ages of 30-64 voted in the 1968 election; only 51 percent of the 21-24-year-olds did likewise.

Why has the voting record of the young voter been so poor? Social scientists have suggested that the tendency to participate in politics is related to one's position in a society, and different social positions reflect different outlooks and needs. Younger voters do not get politically involved due to their present position in the society. They are socially marginal members of the community. Because of a high rate of mobility, and vocational insecurity, the vast majority of young voters lack a strong sense of integration in the community, job responsibility, and family ties. They therefore feel that they do not have a stake in politics. Consequently, they tend not to vote. This feeling of lack of involvement is also facilitated by the rather lengthy residence requirements that most states have established for voting. All of these factors make it much easier for some young people not to vote than to vote.

Many political observers predict a low turnout by the young voter in the 1972 Presidential election. Some suggest that the new under-21 vote will account for only 5 to 7 percent of the total number cast. Few observers who see a low turnout believe that the figure could approach the 18 percent level which would be the proportion of the total population in this age bracket.

Other political observers hypothesize that a large percentage of the new young voters will participate in the electoral process. The basic assumption underlying this position is that the 18-20-year-old has a different set of political orientations than the 21-29-year-old. As a consequence, it is not possible to predict voting behavior on data which characterize a dissimilar group of voters. A major difference between the new young voters and other voters pertains to educational attainment. Table 13 shows that today's young people have been exposed to more formal education than any group in our history.

TABLE 13: Educational Achievement by Age Category, 1960–1970[9]

Age and Education Completed	1970 %	1960 %
	20–24 years	
Less than 4 years high school	19.5	36.4
4 years high school or more	80.5	63.6
1 year college or more	37.5	23.7
	25 years and older	
Less than 4 years high school	41.8	58.9
4 years high school or more	55.2	41.1
1 year college or more	21.2	16.5
4 years college or more	11.0	7.7

In one decade the high school diploma became the norm, and a college education became a possibility open to over 37 percent of all young adults. Educational attainment is a major factor related to political participation. For example, Table 14 reveals that the amount of voting participation increases dramatically with educational attainment. The voting percentage for college graduates in the 21-24 age bracket is not substantially behind that of the population as a whole.

TABLE 14: Voting Participation in 1964 Election by Age and Education[10]

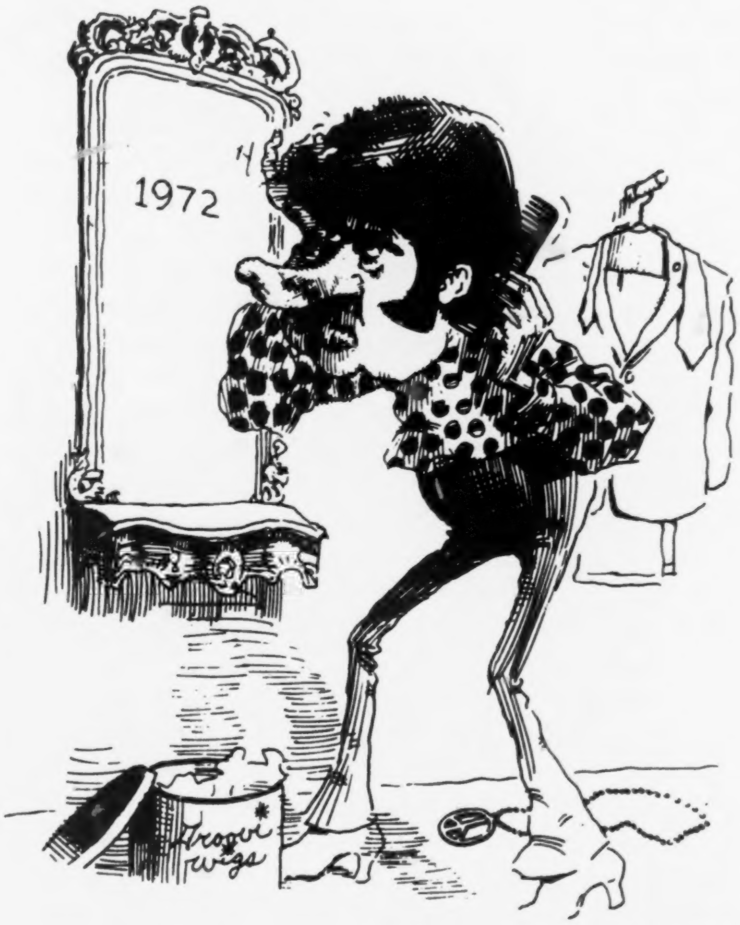
Education	*Percentage Reported*	
	21–24 years	21 years and older
All levels	52.2	70.0
Elementary, 0–7 years	17.6	51.6
Elementary, 8 years	24.9	67.4
High School, 1–3 years	33.7	65.9
High School, 4 years	55.4	76.5
College, 1–3 years	69.9	82.6
College, 4 years or more	78.9	88.2
Not reported	26.5	36.8

Basing predictions on the preceding beliefs, political observers who foresee increased youth participation in 1972 predict between 42-60 percent of all 18-20-year-olds will be registered by November, 1972. These figures are given credibility through the work of nonpartisan organizations such as Youth Citizenship Fund, The Emergency Conference for New Voters, and the Minnesota Project '72 which are working to register all eligible first-time voters and to educate them politically. As one official from the Youth Citizenship Fund noted, "those who predicted that young people will not participate to any significant extent in American political life are currently being proven wrong."[11]

2. *To What Extent Will Young Voters Influence the Outcomes of Elections?*

Some political observers contend that the impact of new young voters will be rather significant. Ben J. Wattenberg, an advisor to Senator Henry M. Jackson and coauthor of *The Real Majority*, summed up this point of view by noting that "Anybody who says that 25 million votes are not important is an idiot."[12] Other political analysts see the impact of the young voter as either minimal or, as a former political analyst in the Nixon administration, Keven Phillips, suggests, "not likely to be great—except in a very close election."[13]

Some possible insights about the potential impact of the young voter on elections may be gained by examining the November, 1971 local elections, the last Presidential election, and marginal victories for the U. S. Congress. The results from local elections in November, 1971, provide little



Huffaker, News & Observer (Raleigh)

Will young voters influence the design of new candidate images? *Reprinted by permission of Huffaker.*

insight. Only a small proportion of the youth were registered and many campaigns were rather lackluster and offered little to excite voters. Candidates who supposedly had appeal to the young lost in Cleveland, San Francisco, and Philadelphia. On the other hand an 18-year-old freshman at Brown University won a school committee post in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and a 19-year-old became mayor of Ayshire, Iowa.

Elections involving the college students, however, did suggest that in college towns, young voters may pack more power. In Boulder, Colorado, 7000 student voters turned out to elect a black attorney, a staunch environmentalist, a political science professor, a graduate student, and a 28-year-old bookstore owner to a nine-member city council. In Bloomington, Indiana, about 50 percent of the 10,000 registered students gave the 32-year-old Democratic challenger a 5-1 campus majority over the Republican incumbent, which led to an overall victory margin of 3-1. Included in the Democratic victory which was classified as "an upset of extraordinary magnitude" were eight of nine city council seats.

What do the results of these various local elections mean for the 1972 national election? Much depends on whether or not one assumes that young voters will participate in the elections. If one accepts the position that few young voters will take the time to cast their ballots, the impact of these few votes may well be absorbed by the votes cast by adults. However, even if the turnout is low, young voters may still have an impact on the outcome of the election. The most interested, informed, and likely to vote among the young are college students. And, college students tend to be more liberal and Democratic party-oriented. Some analysts suggest that if such a Democratic trend develops among young voters the Republican candidate might be hard-pressed to win. Such an occurrence would be a reversal of the normal situation in which the Republican candidate benefits from a low voter turnout.

A large turnout of young voters could have a dramatic impact on the Presidential election. If Hubert Humphrey had received only 70,000 additional votes in Ohio and New Jersey, in 1968, he would have won the Presidency. The two million plus new voters in these two states could have provided such an advantage. (See Table 15.) In a close presidential election, a voting trend among millions of new voters could make a difference.

Young voters may have considerable impact on congressional and senatorial races. For example, in 31 of the 33 states that will elect Senators the number of first-time voters exceeds the margin by which the incumbent was elected the last time he ran. The exceptions are Arkansas and Georgia where the Senators were unopposed. The same condition holds true in 280 out of 388 districts in the House of Representatives. In 15 of the 33 states electing Senators and 71 of the 435 House districts, the number of 18-24-year-olds is at least three times as big as the last majority of the incumbent.

If young voters turn out in large numbers and vote Democratic, the following Republican Senators could be in trouble:

(1) Ted Stevens of Alaska. Last majority: 15,000. Potential youth vote: 29,000.

(2) The candidate for the Idaho seat of Lew B. Jordan, who is retiring. Last majority: 27,000. Potential youth vote: 90,000.

(3) James B. Pearson of Kansas. Last majority: 47,000. Potential youth vote: 304,000.

TABLE 15: 25 Million New Voters Eligible in '72[14]

In the presidential-election year of 1972, a total of 25.1 million young men and women will be of voting age for the first time. This is a record, and will amount to 18 percent of the total voting-age population of 139.6 million. The breakdown by States:

State	Population of Voting Age (18 and over)	Potential New Voters
Ala.	2,291,000	440,000
Alaska	193,000	29,000
Ariz.	1,227,000	232,000
Ark.	1,318,000	230,000
Calif.	14,237,000	2,580,000
Colo.	1,532,000	319,000
Conn.	2,117,000	343,000
Del.	372,000	68,000
Fla.	5,088,000	773,000
Ga.	3,111,000	354,000
Hawaii	528,000	91,000
Ida.	467,000	90,000
Ill.	7,563,000	1,321,000
Ind.	3,487,000	662,000
Ia.	1,887,000	347,000
Kans.	1,539,000	304,000
Ky.	2,177,000	254,000
La.	2,356,000	497,000
Me.	662,000	122,000
Md.	2,715,000	478,000
Mass.	3,947,000	725,000
Mich.	5,875,000	1,127,000
Minn.	2,523,000	478,000
Miss.	1,412,000	297,000
Mo.	3,222,000	569,000
Mont.	452,000	84,000
Nebr.	1,002,000	191,000
Nev.	356,000	54,000
N.H.	511,000	95,000
N.J.	5,018,000	769,000
N.M.	633,000	129,000
N.Y.	12,714,000	2,101,000
N.C.	3,493,000	750,000
N.D.	398,000	83,000
Ohio	7,165,000	1,313,000
Okla.	1,791,000	325,000
Oreg.	1,473,000	259,000
Pa.	8,136,000	1,371,000
R.I.	671,000	135,000
S.C.	1,715,000	391,000
S.D.	430,000	88,000
Tenn.	2,710,000	511,000
Tex.	7,589,000	1,490,000
Utah	674,000	154,000
Vt.	301,000	64,000
Va.	3,232,000	645,000
Wash.	2,381,000	460,000
W.Va.	1,175,000	217,000
Wis.	2,948,000	565,000
Wyo.	217,000	40,000
D.C.	534,000	111,000
TOTAL U.S.	**139,563,000**	**25,125,000**

Note: Figures do not include armed forces overseas, many of whom will be able to vote for the first time. Voting-age population includes many not eligible for the ballot—aliens and persons in mental hospitals and other institutions.

Basic data: U.S. Census Bureau
U.S. News & World Report, July 12, 1971

(4) Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, the Republican whip. Last majority: 293,000. Potential youth vote: 1,127,000.

(5) Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon. Last majority: 24,000. Potential youth vote: 259,000.

(6) Howard H. Baker, Jr., of Tennessee. Last majority: 100,000. Potential youth vote: 511,000.

(7) John G. Tower of Texas. Last majority: 199,000. Potential youth vote: 1,490,000.

(8) Clifford P. Hansen of Wyoming. Last majority: 4,000. Potential youth vote: 40,000.

Similar conditions might exist for conservative Democrats who might find themselves opposed by a more liberal, youth-backed candidate in the primaries, or an Independent in a three-way general election.

Political analysts disagree about what will be the impact of young voters on the political system. For example, Michael Rappeport, Director of Statistical Services at the Opinion Research Corporation, believes that significant political changes are likely to result from high-level political participation of young voters. He argues that past statistics about political apathy or political incapacity of youth are inapplicable to the current crop of young people. Rappeport contends that today's youngsters are a new breed, with vastly different experiences and political orientations. He predicts that the new young voters will be active political participants who will precipitate basic socio-political changes.[15]

Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg hold more cautious views about the political potential of young voters.

> How will they vote? The public opinion polls show some contradictory evidence. On the one hand, youth express themselves as more liberal than their elders and more inclined to vote Democratic. On the other hand, both Gallup and Harris Polls have shown the strength of George Wallace substantially higher among eighteen-, nineteen- and twenty-year-olds than among their elders. To sample the full flavor of this split, note a Louis Harris Poll that shows that among young Americans, the four most admired Americans are Robert F. Kennedy, Bill Cosby, Neil Armstrong, and John Wayne.
>
> Will their vote differ from the population as a whole? Our guess is that the youth vote will ultimately tally as more liberal and more Democratic than the general population. Indeed, this is almost a rule of American politics: In 1940 young people voted somewhat more for Franklin Roosevelt than did their parents.

> Some observers feel that 1972 will see a change in the magnitude of this pattern: a massive outpouring of a heavily Democratic youth vote. If this were the case, it would certainly be a major factor. But our estimate is that the variation of the youth vote from national norms will not be that massive. Moreover, we feel that the percentage of middle-age voting in 1972 will remain substantially higher than the turnout of those under twenty-five. If these factors hold true, then only a close election could be decided by the young. But of course, in a close election every vote is important. In Detroit a close election can swing on the votes of Maltese-Americans.
>
> One aspect of the youth vote is the most important: No one really knows. There is no track record. So we shall see.[16]

Social studies teachers and their students can gather data to check the speculations of political analysts about youth's political participation. Critically examining propositions about political behavior in terms of concepts and data should be a fundamental of social studies instruction. Practicing this fundamental is one way to relate the social studies to social reality, to make formal instruction more relevant and meaningful. *How accurate were the predictors about the national election of 1972?*

C. Sample Lessons for the Social Studies Classroom

One of the many problems confronting the potential voter is deciding whether or not the candidates for public office are suitable and deserving of support. Sample Lesson Seven is a device for systematically surfacing information and values about political candidates that may assist the potential voter in making a wiser choice of candidates.

Sample Lesson Seven is designed around a "Political Candidate Checklist" which can help students to assess various Presidential candidates. The "Political Candidate Checklist" is a means for helping students identify what qualities they do and do not value in a Presidential candidate. This indicator can be applied to any Presidential candidate and yields ratings which enable students to roughly compare the extent to which they favor or do not favor different candidates.

Sample Lesson Number Seven

RATING PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Teachers should initiate Sample Lesson Number Seven by distributing to each student three copies of the

The Political Impact of Young Voters

SAMPLE LESSON NO. 7

"Presidential Candidate Checklist," one for each major candidate. (We assume there will be three major Presidential candidates in upcoming elections.) Ask students to rate each of the major Presidential candidates in terms of the categories on the "Checklist." Have students tally the total "negative" and "positive" ratings given for each candidate. Next tell students to enter the totals on the "Candidate Tally Chart" so that they can easily compare their ratings of the candidates.

At this point in the lesson the teacher should ask students to reveal their candidate preferences by a show of hands. Students then should discuss their ratings of the candidates in terms of the items on the "Checklist." Through this discussion, the teacher can focus the attention of students on the qualities which they value in a Presidential candidate and the grounds for their valuing of these qualities.

The social studies teacher should be aware that there are very obvious limitations to the "Political Candidate Checklist." Political interaction is not so simple that one needs only to mark a few scores and determine the one candidate who is best. The intelligent voter does not attach equal importance to each item on the "Checklist." For some individuals only the items concerning various issues will be important. The "Political Candidate Checklist" is designed to indicate an array of possible qualities which may influence the candidate preferences of voters. This device can stimulate discussion of the qualities which voters value in Presidential candidates.

Directions to the Student

Respond to the "Presidential Candidate Checklist" on the page opposite and the "Candidate Tally Chart" on page 96 according to the following directions.

Political Candidate Checklist

Directions: Use this scorecard to help you choose among the various candidates for public office. Watch each candidate, listen to him speak, and examine his political record. After you have done those things, apply each section of this checklist to each candidate you want to rate. Respond to each item in the checklist by placing a mark in the appropriate column at the right margin of the page. Total the "negative" and "positive" responses for each section of the checklist and enter these in the appropriate blanks. Then add these sub-totals and place the grand totals in the appropriate spaces at the bottom of the page.

SAMPLE LESSON NO. 7

Presidential Candidate Checklist

CANDIDATE'S NAME ____________________

Section I: Personal Qualities

	Ratings *Bad*	Ratings *Good*
1. Physical appearance	______	______
2. Knowledge of important topics	______	______
3. Ability to speak clearly	______	______
4. Ability to present his point of view	______	______
5. Sense of humor	______	______
6. Ability to meet people	______	______
7. Ability to handle hard questions	______	______
Sub-Total	______ *Negative*	______ *Positive*

Section II: Demographic Characteristics

	Not Acceptable	*Acceptable*
1. Home state	______	______
2. Sex identity	______	______
3. Racial identity	______	______
4. Age	______	______
5. Educational background	______	______
6. Amount and type of political experience	______	______
7. Marital status	______	______
8. Political party	______	______
Sub-Total	______ *Negative*	______ *Positive*

Section III. Important Issues

Does the candidate agree with your views about these areas of concern:

	No	*Yes*
1. Pollution	______	______
2. Foreign Policy	______	______
3. Unemployment	______	______
4. Civil Rights	______	______
5. The Draft	______	______
6. Drugs	______	______
7. Crime	______	______
8. Education	______	______
9. Aid to Poor People	______	______
10. Taxation	______	______
Sub-Total	______	______
Grand Total	______ *Negative Total*	______ *Positive Total*

Candidate Tally Chart

DIRECTIONS: Write the sub-totals for each candidate that were yielded by your responses to each section of the "Checklist," in the appropriate spaces below.

	Personal Qualities		*Demographic Characteristics*		*Issues*		*Total*	
Candidate	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive
Democrat								
Republican								
Independent								

Answer these questions about your responses to the "Presidential Candidate Checklist" and the "Candidate Tally Chart."

1. What qualities of Presidential candidates do you value?
2. Why do you value these qualities?
3. Which of the current Presidential candidates possesses more of the qualities which you value? Explain.

Sample Lesson Number Eight

MEASURING LIBERTARIANISM AND EQUALITARIANISM

Political attitude scales and indices are among the most useful tools of social scientists. These instruments are used to measure and interpret political beliefs and orientations of the public. For example, political attitude scales and indices are used to determine the extent to which Americans are politically cynical, tolerant, equalitarian, etc.

Political attitude indices can be used effectively in the social studies classroom to surface the political beliefs of students, to stimulate normative discussions and the articulation of value judgments, to teach the meaning of particular political attitudes and beliefs, and to teach students something about the techniques of measuring public opinion. For example, Sample Lesson Eight is based on two political attitude indices devised to measure libertarianism and equalitarianism.

DIRECTIONS TO THE STUDENT

To what extent do you hold equalitarian or libertarian political beliefs? What are the bases of your political orientations? The following exercise was designed to help you to think more carefully about some of your political beliefs.

Equalitarian and Libertarian Indices

DIRECTIONS: Indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by placing the letter "A" (agree) or "B" (disagree) in the space next to the number of each statement. If you are uncertain about whether you agree or disagree with the statement, place the letter "C" in the appropriate space.

Part A: Equalitarianism Index

____ 1. The government ought to make sure that everyone has a good standard of living.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 2. Every person should have a good house, even if the government has to build it.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 3. If poor people cannot afford to pay for hospital care, then the government should pay their hospital and doctor bills.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 4. Every person should have the chance to try for a college education, even if the government has to pay for this education.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 5. The government should guarantee a living to those who can't find work.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 6. All old people should be taken care of by the government if they can't take care of themselves.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain

Part B: Libertarian Index

____ 7. If a person wanted to make a speech in this city favoring Communism, he should be allowed to speak.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 8. Books written against churches and religion should be kept out of our public libraries.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 9. If a person wanted to make a speech in this community against churches and religion, he should be allowed to speak.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 10. People should not be allowed to march on public streets in support of better rights and opportunities for black people.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 11. People should not be allowed to make speeches against our kind of government.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain
____ 12. Some racial or religious groups should be prevented from living in certain sections of cities.
A. Agree B. Disagree C. Uncertain

Which of the items in the two indices do you *agree* with? Write the numbers of these items in the following space. Be prepared to tell why you agree with these statements.

Which of the items in the two indices do you *disagree* with? Write the numbers of these items in the following space. Be prepared to tell why you disagree with these statements.

What do the indices reveal about the strengths of your support for libertarian and equalitarian political beliefs? To determine the degree of your support for equalitarianism follow these directions.

1. Assign yourself two points for agreeing with statements number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
2. Assign yourself one point for each uncertain response.
3. Place the number of points you should receive for your responses to each item on the "Equalitarianism Tally Chart" on page 99.
4. Total the number of points in the "Tally Chart"; this is your equalitarianism score.

To determine the degree of your support for libertarianism, follow these directions.

1. Assign yourself two points for agreeing with statements number 7 and 9.
2. Assign yourself two points for disagreeing with statements number 8, 10, 11, 12.
3. Assign yourself one point for each uncertain response.
4. Place the number of points you should receive for your responses to each item in the "Libertarianism Tally Chart" on page 99.
5. Total the number of points in the "Tally Chart"; this is your libertarianism score.

To interpret your two total scores, see the "Libertarianism Indicator" and the "Equalitarianism Indicator" on page 99. According to these indicators, scores of 9-12 indicate a high degree of libertarianism or equalitarianism; scores of 4-8 indicate a moderate degree of libertarianism or equalitarianism; scores of 0-3 indicate a low degree of libertarianism or equalitarianism.

EQUALITARIANISM TALLY CHART

Item Number	*Points Assigned*
1	______
2	______
3	______
4	______
5	______
6	______
Total Score	______

LIBERTARIANISM TALLY CHART

Item Number	*Points Assigned*
7	______
8	______
9	______
10	______
11	______
12	______
Total Score	______

LIBERTARIANISM INDICATOR

12 11 10 9	8 7 6 5 4	3 2 1 0
High	Medium	Low

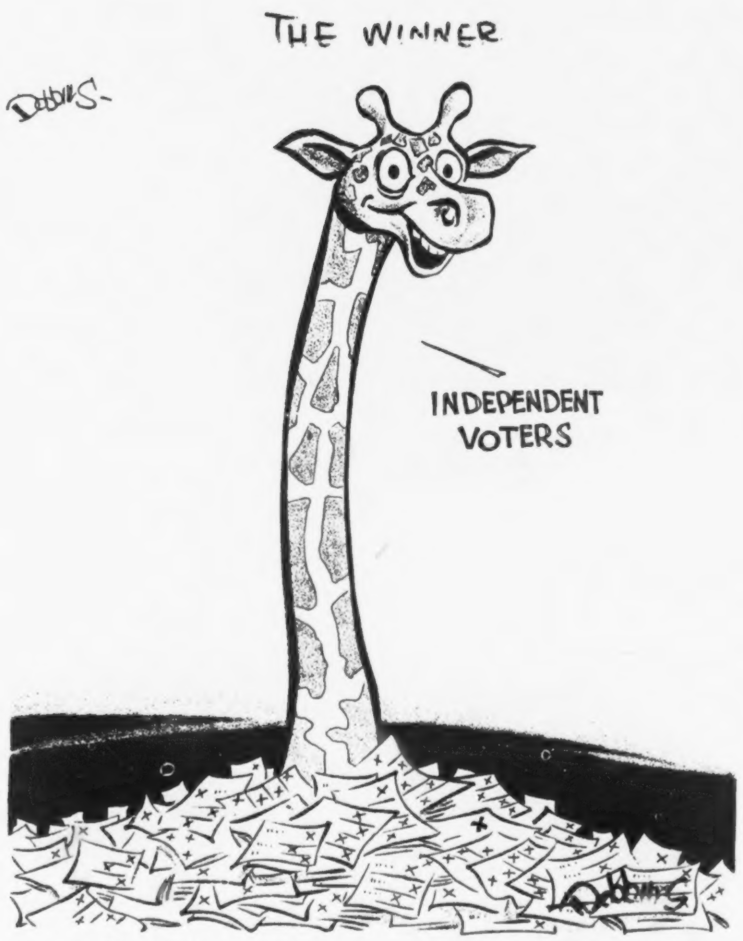
EQUALITARIANISM INDICATOR

12 11 10 9	8 7 6 5 4	3 2 1 0
High	Medium	Low

What were your scores? According to the indices, are you high, moderate, or low in libertarianism and equalitarianism?

According to the indices, what is the meaning of libertarianism? What is the meaning of equalitarianism? Try to write brief definitions of libertarianism and equalitarianism which are consistent with the indices. Write your definitions in the following spaces. Libertarianism is ____________
____
____.

Equalitarianism is ______________________________
____
____.



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Now read the following formal definitional discussion of equalitarianism and libertarianism which is consistent with the two indices.

Libertarianism refers to the protection of the right to dissent, to express unorthodox socio-political beliefs. It implies political tolerance, the willingness to grant equal rights and opportunities even to unpopular individuals or minority groups. Libertarian sentiments and practices are checks against absolute majority rule, which presumably leads to dictatorship.

Individuals who express a high degree of libertarianism support the right of freedom of speech and political action for unpopular individuals and/or groups as well as more orthodox types. Political libertarians believe that unpopular minority groups should have the same legal rights as others in the society.

Equalitarianism refers to the use of public institutions to provide more equal opportunities in employment, health, and education. Many advocates of democracy believe that civil liberties are necessary, but insufficient, guarantors of "true" freedom. They claim that freedom of speech is not a very significant right to hungry or diseased people.

A person with strong equalitarian beliefs expresses support for public or community programs in education, health care, and employment opportunities. The "equalitarian" individual supports policies which contribute to a more even distribution of wealth.

* * * * *

Political attitude indices, such as those used in the previous sample lesson, are very useful provokers of student discussions about political values and issues. For example, the previous lesson can be used to initiate discussion about the meaning of two dimensions of democracy: libertarianism and equalitarianism. The lesson can also be used as a device to assist students to examine more carefully the bases of their political beliefs.

Teachers might also ask students to discuss why they do or do not tend to agree with the statements in each index. This discussion can help to focus the attention of students on fundamental issues in our society pertaining to civil liberties and the equalization of opportunities and the distribution of rewards.

Teachers might find it interesting to determine whether students who prefer the Democratic or Republican party are more or less likely to be high in equalitarianism and libertarianism. It might also be interesting to compare the scores on these two indices of students who express a political party preference and students who choose to be identified as political independents. Examining the relationship among students between political party preference and tendency to agree or disagree with the items on the indices can lead to a fruitful discussion of the positions of the major political parties and their candidates about issues related to equalitarianism and libertarianism.

The format for this lesson can be employed to help teachers systematically use many different political and social attitude indices and scales for instructional purposes. Two volumes of attitude indices and scales which teachers should examine to find scales and indices appropriate to their instructional needs are:

1. John P. Robinson, Jerold G. Rush, and Kendra B. Head, *Measures of Political Attitudes* (Ann Arbor: The Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1969).
2. Marvin Shaw and Jack Wright, *Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

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[4] The American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll).

[5] *U. S. News and World Report* (March 8, 1971), p. 60.

[6] *Newsweek* (October 25, 1971), p. 41.

[7] Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, *The Real Majority* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Inc., 1971), pp. 71-75.

[8] Louis Harris, "What Young America Wants: Change Not Revolution," *Reader's Digest* (June, 1971), pp. 85-87.

[9] U. S. Bureau of Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 207, "Educational Attainment," March, 1970.

[10] U. S. Bureau of Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 143, 1965.

[11] *Minneapolis Star* (January 12, 1972), p. 10A.

[12] *Minneapolis Tribune* (January 2, 1972), p. 11B.

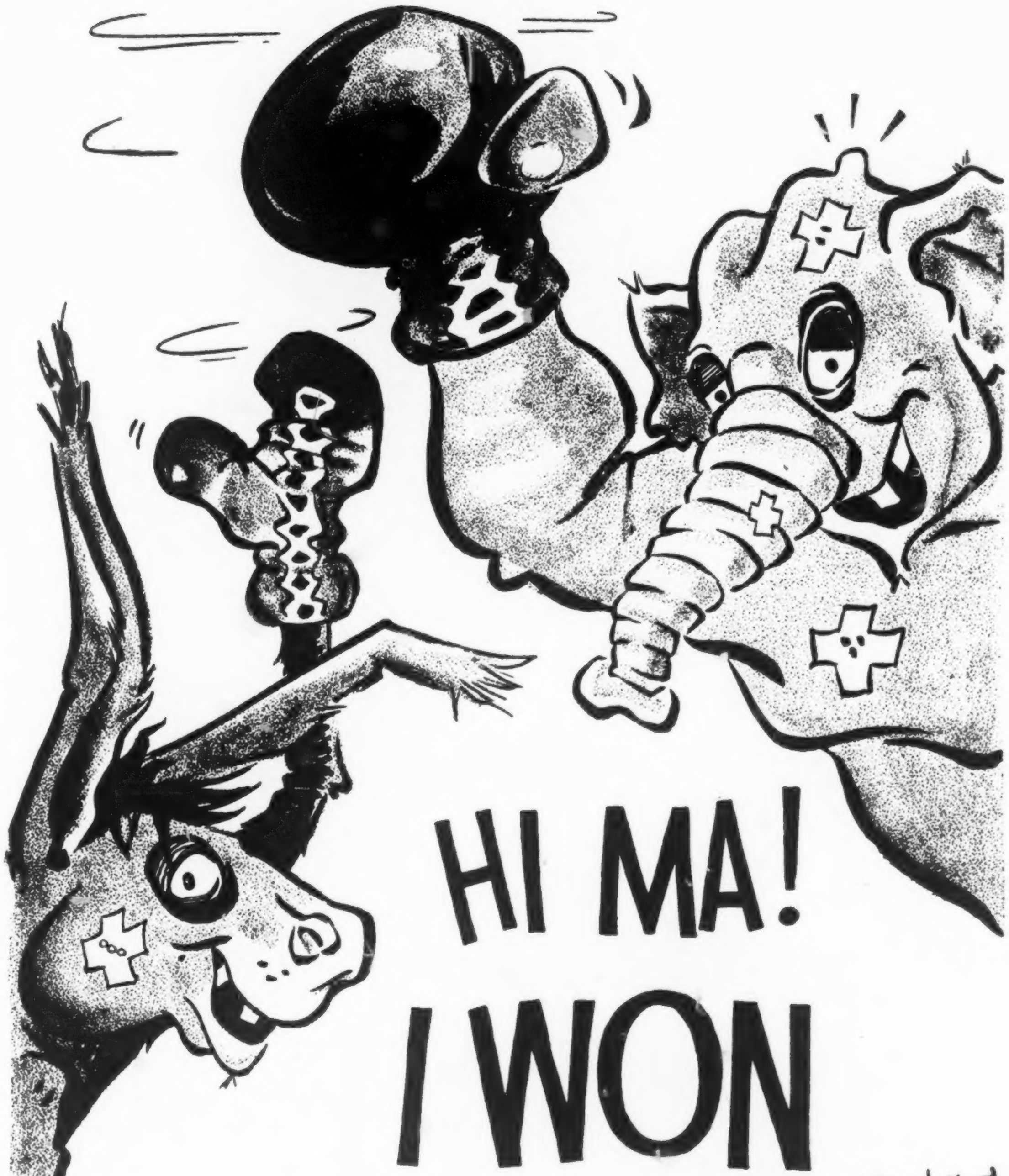
[13] *U. S. News and World Report* (March 8, 1971).

[14] *U. S. News and World Report* (July 12, 1971).

[15] Michael Rappeport, "The Kids Will Be More Than Just Younger," *The Washington Monthly*, 2 (September, 1970), pp. 52-53.

[16] Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, *The Real Majority*, p. 314.

NOTES


HI MA!
I WON
DOBBINS

James J. Dobbins, *The Boston Herald Traveler*

"Victory" in Politics Often Depends on Point of View.
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5

EFFECTIVE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Millions of young people have an opportunity, through exercise of the franchise, to be involved in the mainstream of American politics. However, enfranchisement is not a panacea—ask the Blacks, Indians, Chicanos, and other minority groups. Young Americans, if they are to have any impact on American politics, must be aware of sources of political power and the alternatives for participation open to them. They must be able to assess various political opportunities and decide between wise and unwise political choices. How can they make such decisions?

Two general questions may assist social studies teachers as they attempt to explore various alternatives with students. *First, what is the young voter's potential for effective political participation?* To answer this question the student needs to explore the openness of the system to participation. For example, is the party system so closed that entrance is almost impossible? Students also need to assess carefully the resources they have to spend on political participation. What are their resources and how can these resources be used wisely?

The *second* question concerns active participation. *How can young voters participate most effectively?* This question focuses attention on alternative political techniques and the possible effectiveness of various techniques. To participate effectively in the political process, young voters must be aware of access points, their political resources, and the means for effective participation.

A. What Is the Young Voter's Potential for Effective Political Participation?

To what extent is the political system open to young voters? Two important features of American politics enhance opportunities for effective participation: (1) politics in our society depends upon organized, group action; and (2) political activity in our society is decentralized to a considerable extent.

Politics is organized, group action for the purpose of gaining influence and power at various levels of decision-making. The major political parties are key organizations in our political system. They exist to recruit suitable candidates for public office and to win elections. This is their means for gaining influence and power in government. The two major political parties need support from a broad cross-section of Americans, which includes diverse groups of young people. New young voters who desire to participate through the political party system are likely to find political party leaders receptive to their offers of participation in party activities.

Various interest groups are basic to the functioning of the American political system. Through a variety of political techniques, including bloc voting and participation in election campaigns, these interest groups seek to influence the formulation of particular public policies. Most new young voters are likely to find one or more interest groups which support positions which they favor. They are also likely to find these interest groups open to their active involvement.

Political affairs in our society are considerably decentralized and polycentric. The political system is not a tightly-knit monolith. Rather, the system features a multitude of organizations which vary from state to state and locality to locality. The system is marked by flexibility. Thus, routes of access to the system can be found, if not at one location, at another.

The major political parties accommodate various different groups and contain a wide range of political orientations. The party organizations are decentralized and are based on the precinct organization—which encompasses a few square blocks in a city or a few square miles in a rural area. It is at this level that leaders are chosen for party responsibility at higher levels. There are over 150,000 precincts in the United States with between 400-2,000 voters in each.

The political system is not closed to participation by the young voter. There are ready-made organizations in need of support and their interests range from conservative to liberal. The political structure is decentralized and open at the community level. All these factors enhance the young voter's potential for effective political participation.

Effective political participation depends upon wise use of political resources. *What are the political resources of young voters? What do these political resources indicate about the young voter's potential for effective political participation?*

A political resource was defined in Chapter 1 as the means one person has to control, or direct, the behavior of others. (See Chapter 1, pages 7–11.) Examples of political resources are money, control over jobs, control over means of communication, information, skill in negotiating, popularity, time, interest, and voting. As an individual desires to use his political resources he gains political influence and power. Some individuals possess more political resources than others and as a consequence have more influence and ability to achieve political objectives.

Today's 18- to 20-year-old is considered by many older voters to be a marginal member of society and to have few political resources. High mobility, few family ties, and vocational insecurity all contribute to this marginality. Closely linked to these characteristics is the fact that most working young voters have low paying jobs. Many young voters are also students at either the high school or college level. They too lack money, control over positions, communication, and information. These political resources are mostly in the hands of older voters.

However, young voters do possess two very important political resources: interest and time to participate. Interest is a necessary condition of influence. Individuals who are interested in various issues tend to go to public meetings where political affairs are discussed and decided, belong to political parties, and work in a variety of ways to help the party of their choice. People with high interest tend to care more about the outcome of public policies and to express these concerns to political decision-makers. As a consequence, people with interest become more influential. The average American voter is not interested in most public issues and sets aside little time to spend on expressing what interest he has. In American politics, those individuals who are interested and take time to become involved enhance the possibility that their political influence may have a significant impact on various political decisions.[1]

It is through extensive political interest and activity that the young voter may compete with those who have more political resources in other areas. High school and college students, in particular, have the opportunity to become actively involved in politics. Unlike their working peers, they are not tied to an eight-hour-a-day job and may take time to work for a political candidate.

Education is another important political resource of many young voters. Education is correlated to political participation and interest. Those people with more education tend to be more active in political affairs. Those people with lower educational attainment tend to be less active in politics. (See Chapters 3 and 4 for more discussion of the relationship between education and political participation.) Young voters who are more highly educated than older voters can use the fruits of their education to achieve political goals.

Political party organizations are created for one purpose—to select, run, and elect candidates to public office. To do so demands the cooperation and allegiance of a large number of active, interested political participants. Young people who are interested and willing to take an active part in politics can find access points. In fact, most party organizations have welcomed participation by the young voter. Since the passage of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment, both major political parties have sought the support of the young voter. For example, the Democrat-Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota adopted a proposal which required that women, young people, and minority groups be represented on state party delegations "in reasonable relationship to their presence in the state."

Young voters have some of the necessary political resources to influence the direction of American politics. These are potentially powerful tools. To use them properly, young people need to learn some of the basics of organization and persuasion, and they need to believe that it is in their best interest to participate.

B. How Can Young Voters Participate Most Effectively?

A key aspect of politics in a democracy is participation. To be interested and informed about politics in the confines of the classroom, family, or social club is of little value. If the young voter is to take part in the political life of the society in a realistic manner, he must become involved in the process of nominating, electing, and influencing public officials. There are a variety of ways in which the young voter may participate. Voting in public elections is the most basic way to participate in a democracy. But to be effective in determining public policies, young voters must cast their ballots in many different elections and at various times throughout the year. They must use their votes in the broadest political context. To be effective political participants, young voters must be active not only in final elections, but in primary elections and in activities aimed at influencing policy decisions between elections. There are two main ways in which young voters may become involved in politics. They may choose to operate as "political lone wolves" or as "political organizers and joiners."

"The lone wolf political activist" seeks to influence political leaders and decision-makers through a variety of one-to-one techniques. Face-to-face contact is probably the best example of this approach. Upon the individual's own initiative, contact is made with various political figures and an expression of concern and interest is presented. Most young voters are at a disadvantage, however, because they lack certain political resources that give power to their suggestions. This does not mean the individual would necessarily be treated discourteously, especially if talking to a representative from his district, but his would be only one opinion among many to consider.

Personal letters are also means by which the individual can express his opinions and attempt to influence others. On occasion, these letters may have considerable influence. A short, simple letter or telegram can be of great value both in stating one's commitment to a particular position and in adding to the others speaking on the same side of an issue. The following "Do's and Don'ts of Letter Writing" from the League of Women Voters' pamphlet "When You Write to Washington" provide helpful suggestions:

DO'S AND DON'TS OF LETTER WRITING[2]

The Fundamental Do's

Do address your senator or representative properly.

Do write legibly (handwritten letters are fine if they are readable).

Do be brief and to the point; discuss only one issue in each letter; identify a bill by number or title if possible.

Do use your own words and your own stationery.

Do be sure to include your address and sign your name legibly. If your name could be either masculine or feminine, identify your sex. If you have family, business or political connections related to the issue, explain it. It may serve as identification when your point of view is considered.

Do be courteous and reasonable.

Do feel free to write if you have a question or problem dealing with procedures of government departments. Congressional offices can often help you cut through red tape or give you advice that will save you time and wasted effort.

Do write when your spokesman in Washington does something of which you approve. Public officials hear mostly from constituents who oppose their actions. A barrage of criticism gives them a one-sided picture of their constituencies. (A note of appreciation will make your senator or representative remember you favorably the next time you write.)

Do include pertinent editorials from local papers.

Do write early in the session before a bill has been introduced if you have ideas about an issue you would like to see incorporated in legislation. If you are "lobbying" for or against a bill, and your senator or representative is a member of the committee to which it has been referred, write when the committee begins hearings. If he is not a member of the committee handling the bill, write him just before the bill comes to the floor for debate and vote.

Do write the chairman or members of a committee holding hearings on legislation in which you are interested. Remember, however, that you have more influence with senators from your state and the representative from your district than with other members of Congress.

The Fundamental Don'ts

Don't sign and send a form or mimeograph letter.

Don't begin on the righteous note of "as a citizen and taxpayer." Your elected representative assumes you are not an alien, and he knows we all pay taxes.

Don't apologize for writing and taking his time. If your letter is short and expresses your opinion, he is glad to give you a hearing.

Don't say "I hope this gets by your secretary." This only irritates the office staff.

Don't be rude or threatening. It will get you nowhere.

Don't be vague. Some letters received in congressional offices are couched in such general terms that it leaves the senator or representative and his staff wondering what the writer had in mind.

Don't just because you disagree politically with your senator or representative ignore him and write to one from another district or state. Congressional courtesy calls for the recipient of such a letter to forward it to the congressman from the district or state involved.

DON'T send a carbon copy to your second senator or representative when you have addressed the letter to the first senator. Write each one individually; it's the courteous thing to do.

Attending public meetings is another means of expressing opinions and attempting to influence political decisions. Most public agencies are required to hold public hearings on various issues. Political party and pressure group meetings usually are open to the public. With a carefully-reasoned presentation, one may have considerable impact on a particular decision.

Contributing money to a particular organization or political candidate is another way to express one's opinions and interests. Politics is costly not only in the amount of time and energy needed to participate, but also in the amount of money needed to nominate and elect candidates to public office. The Republican party alone spent $21 million on Nixon's 1968 Presidential campaign and over $250 million as a party on election campaigns. Individuals who can contribute a sizeable sum to a particular party are bound to find the party receptive to their suggestions.

Where do the young voters stand if they choose to be political "lone wolves"? Typical young voters would tend to have little impact on overall policy decisions and candidate selection. Most do not have the political resources to make powerful individual appeals. Most lack high status in the community. They represent a minority of opinion among eligible voters. Economically most young voters cannot contribute large sums of money to party campaign chests because they hold low paying jobs, are students, or are unemployed. Although they may have time to write letters, attend meetings, and contact political leaders, their influence more than likely will be minimal.

"The political organizer and joiner" tries to overcome potential ineffectiveness by seeking individuals and organizations who share similar goals and ideals. He joins those groups that are organized for the expressed purposes of determining political policies and electing candidates. Politics involves group interaction and groups gain in power and influence as they unite large numbers of people behind an issue or candidate. The young voter is a member of a minority; he must either unify all members of his minority or join with a cross-section of other individuals if he hopes to gain power and influence over political decisions. The possibilities of unifying young voters are almost impossible. Those who see this as the means to political influence are politically naive. The youth ranks are divided by many

issues and conflicts. There is no youth vote just as there is no women's vote. Those young voters who seek to use their political resources effectively must join ranks with a cross-section of other like-minded individuals. Only then will the political resources of time, education, interest, and numbers take on greater importance.

The easiest way for the young voter to cooperate with other individuals with similar political orientations is to join a political club. The major political parties have clubs throughout the United States, and are subdivided into women's organizations, Spanish-speaking clubs, Young Democrat or Republican clubs, etc. These clubs vary in size from a handful of people meeting in an individual's home to several thousand voters meeting periodically in a large auditorium. They may consist of a few political activists with a mimeograph machine in the basement of a home or a large business-like operation occupying a small suite of offices. Political clubs serve important functions in the political scheme. These functions include:

(1) providing an organized base for year-round political activities.
(2) enlisting new recruits into the party organization.
(3) providing a pool of volunteers to the party for precinct and campaign work.
(4) serving as a training ground for workers and leaders.
(5) raising money for the party's war chest.[3]

The young voter should seek out organizations that are politically active and attend meetings to determine whether or not there are grounds for cooperation. Many young voters will be contacted by various groups who are seeking support. This will be especially true for the young voter on the college campus.

Becoming a member of a political club can have advantages for the young voter. First, he is no longer a single voice seeking to influence political decisions, but a member of a chorus of voices blending in support of various issues. Second, there are others who can share in part of the workload and more work may be accomplished in less time. Third, additional funds may be available to assist in various programs and campaigns—assistance that the young voter needs. Fourth, there is an opportunity to work with experienced political activists who "know the ropes" and can provide leadership and direction to political activities. Fifth, membership in a political club may lead to involvement in the basic political party organization, the precinct caucus.

The precinct caucus can be a highly significant avenue of participation. The precinct represents the smallest geographic political unit. A typical precinct includes 600 to 1000 voters. But in actuality most precincts vary considerably in size. Counties, cities, towns, and wards are divided into precincts for election purposes with boundaries set by law. Basically the precinct caucus is a neighborhood meeting of all the eligible voters of a political party living within the precinct. Normally all qualified voters or those who will be qualified by the next general election may attend the party caucus. No prior party membership is necessary.

The functions and powers of the precinct caucus vary from state to state.[4] In most states the precinct is managed by a precinct leader who is elected in the primary election. In such a case, the powers of the precinct caucus are mainly advisory. In some states the precinct caucus is directly responsible for the selection of delegates to a party convention which nominates the official party flag bearers.

The importance of the precinct caucus is enhanced during Presidential election years. It is at this point that the young voter may exert influence upon delegate selection. The precinct caucus is open to all qualified voters living within its boundaries. If large numbers of young voters attend the meetings and push for the election of delegates who are sympathetic to their cause, the possibility of nominating delegates to national conventions is enhanced. A key to the success of nominating favorable candidates is forethought and planning. The young voter must gather support for his candidate before going to the meeting. Once there, he must also seek to influence others who are willing to support his candidate.

Becoming involved at the precinct level can increase the potential impact of the young voter on politics. However, nominating candidates of one's choice is only half the job. The name of the game is to win elections. No prizes are given for being second in a two-man race for public office. To win elections means to gain support and votes of those citizens who are eligible to cast ballots. Candidates must campaign to attract votes, and younger and older voters can play key roles in election campaigns.

C. Participating in Election Campaigns

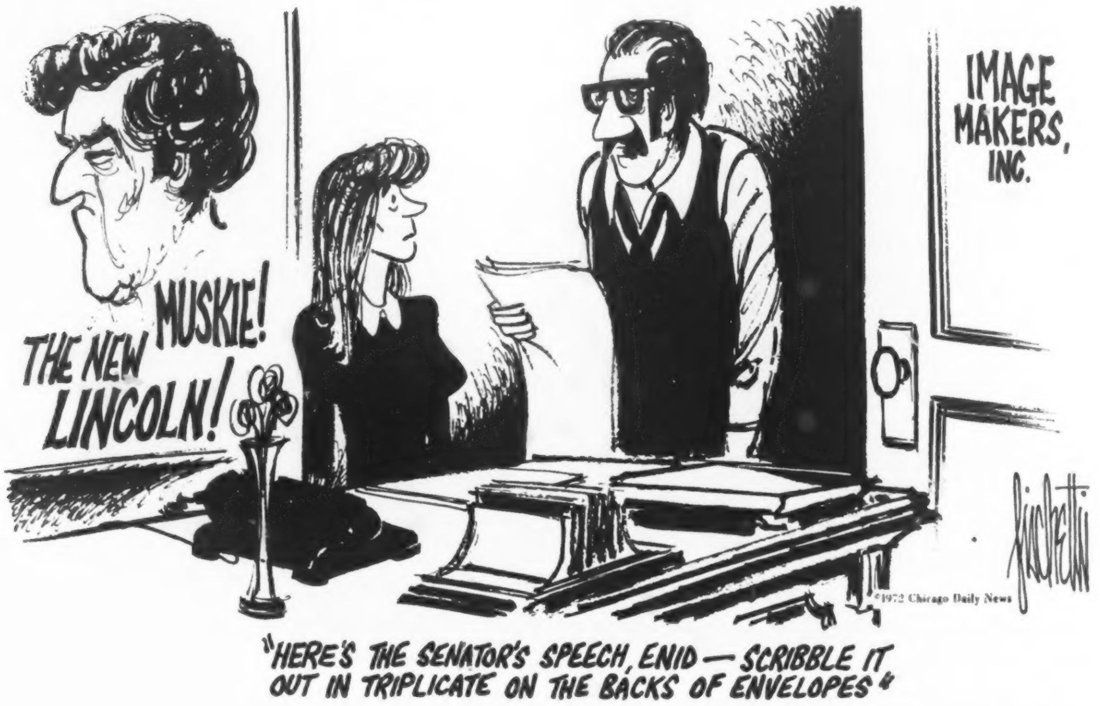
The election campaign is an essential feature of our political system. Dan Nimmo has devised a very useful definition of American election campaigns. "A campaign denotes the activities of an individual or group (the campaigner) in a particular context (the campaign setting) designed to manipulate the behavior of a wider number of people (the audience) to his advantage."[5]

What are the main objectives or functions of election campaigns? The primary objective of an election campaign is victory on election day. Through various strategies and tactics, candidates and their campaign managers attempt to influence voters to support them. Other objectives of election campaigns are to publicize political party programs and leaders, to raise money, and to recruit political party workers.

Election campaigns have at least four basic functions in our political system.[6] *First,* campaigns generate support for people who seek authority to govern. Victorious candidates base their right to govern, in part, on the mass support mobilized during an election campaign.

Second, campaigns offer opportunities for candidates to demonstrate capability for political leadership. Through various types of public appearances, candidates try to project an image of competency to serve, to make decisions, and to command respect.

Third, campaigns are vehicles for the political education of the electorate. During campaigns, candidates communicate information about themselves, about public issues, and about the functions of governmental institutions. This information helps some citizens to make rational political decisions.


THE NEW MUSKIE!
LINCOLN!
IMAGE MAKERS, INC.
Fischetti
©1972 Chicago Daily News

"HERE'S THE SENATOR'S SPEECH, ENID — SCRIBBLE IT OUT IN TRIPLICATE ON THE BACKS OF ENVELOPES"

Editorial cartoon by John Fischetti © 1972, Chicago Daily News.

Fourth, during election campaigns, voters communicate their political preferences and positions to candidates who are either incumbents or future public officials. By facilitating the communication of public opinions to candidates, campaigns help public officials to develop their agenda of political concerns and goals.

A successful election campaign must win two major battles in order to win the war. One is the battle for the voters' minds—influencing them to cast their ballots for a particular party and/or individual. The second is for voters' participation on election day—getting them out of the comforts of their living rooms to the polling places. Both battles are of equal importance. An uncommitted individual may not vote or even worse he may cast his ballot for the opposing candidate. A committed voter who does not turn out on election day does nothing to support the candidate. The political campaign must convince undecided voters that one candidate is the most suitable, get this newly-committed voter to the polls, and at the same time keep the flames of loyalty burning high enough in the usual party supporters to get them to the polls.

How can typical voters participate effectively in election campaigns? Typical voters, younger and older, can participate meaningfully in election campaigns in numerous ways. The choice of alternative means of participation depends upon such factors as available time and energy, possession of particular political skills, and the significance of a particular election contest. In terms of these kinds of factors, voters decide how extensively they are willing to participate in an election campaign. Participation in canvassing, registering voters, and getting voters to the polls on election day are three types of activities open to people with flexible schedules, such as students and housewives.

Canvassing is a means for determining who and where are the potential voters. Canvassing a precinct involves: (1) locating potential voters; (2) identifying their political leanings; (3) influencing the middle-of-the-roaders to become involved; and (4) registering people to vote who are likely to support your party and/or candidate. Such activities may be accomplished through face-to-face contacts or telephone conversations. Information gathered through canvassing can be used later in the campaign to get people registered and to the polls. Canvassing is also an excellent way to determine potential party strength in a precinct.

Following the canvassing of a precinct, efforts are directed toward getting people registered to vote in the upcoming election. Registration drives begin early in the campaign and continue up to the registration deadline. Organization and timing are the keys. Volunteers must be aware of state registration laws, of the locations where individuals may register, and of the physical problems involved in getting to and from the registration place. Because registration books are open to the public, efforts can be made to check lists to see if they are up-to-date.

If the current trend of registration among young voters continues, as many as 70 percent of all eligible 18-to-20-year-olds may be registered by the November 1972 election. Young voters should be actively involved in getting others registered, especially those who support the same candidates and issues.

Between the close of registration and election day, efforts are made to check every name on the registration list. This is a final count of party strength and gives an opportunity to "work" on those voters who are still doubtful. It is during this period that preparation is made for the final push on election day.

Getting out the votes on election day involves action at three locations: the polling places, precinct headquarters, and the party's central campaign headquarters. Committees manned by volunteer workers and party members are established to check to see who votes, to call reluctant voters to remind them to vote, to baby-sit where needed, to transport people to the polls, to watch the polling places to make sure that everything is legal. Little effort is made to influence the undecided. Concentration is on getting the people who are already in the fold out to the polling places.

The most important consideration during the final day of the campaign is to make sure that every known party member gets to the polls. As election day wears on, party workers at the polling places carefully watch their voter lists, checking off each party supporter as he votes. By late afternoon the call goes out to get those who have not yet voted to the polls. Workers and cars are sent to the homes of the party members to facilitate their attendance. This activity continues up until the closing minutes of election day. Most party leaders insist that this effort is vital to victory. Other political observers are not as sure and contend that most interested voters would turn out regardless of party efforts and those who seek not to vote will in all probability avoid the responsibility.

Some candidates and campaign managers have speculated that campaign activities by youthful volunteers could hurt a candidate's image. Are older voters "turned off" by the sight of young voters working for a particular party or candidate? Before the 1970 elections, the prevailing opinion among political strategists was that older voters would react negatively to the approaches of young voters. The case used to support this contention was a race in New Jersey where hundreds of young volunteers attempted to help attorney Lew Kaden in a drive to defeat Congressman Edward Patten in the Democratic primary. Kaden lost the election 24,650 to 12,600. Many newspapers and magazines carried articles and editorials suggesting that young people, especially college students, could best help their candidates by staying home.

The Movement for a New Congress, the organization which mobilized many of the student volunteers in the Kaden campaign, disagreed with these conclusions. Using data from a survey of New Jersey voters, the movement concluded that there was no voter backlash against student participation in the campaign. Seventy-one percent of the people polled thought it was a good idea to have students involved in the campaign. Only 2 percent responded that they would vote against a candidate because he was supported by college students.[7]

Other indications also suggest that the involvement of young people in campaigns does not hinder candidates. In the 1970 primary elections, 25 out of 30 candidates who received substantial student aid were victorious. Five of the candidates beat incumbents with 20 to 28 years' experience.[8] Those candidates who sought election in the fall of 1971 in various city elections did not suffer setbacks. In some cases, candidates received enough votes to win and in others not enough. However, the involvement of young people in campaign activities did not appear to be a factor which turned older voters against candidates.

What is the usual impact of election campaigns on voters and candidates? Virtually every member of the electorate is exposed to election campaign appeals. If many Americans choose not to play the role of political participant, few find it possible to avoid the role of spectator.

Television has become the primary transmitter of events to the masses of political spectators. In 1959, 51 percent of a national sample said television was their most important source of news and information. By 1967, the percentage had risen to approximately 65 percent.[9]

People use television rather than other sources of information, because television is a "low effort" medium; it takes relatively little thought or energy to use it. A flick of the switch and one can participate. Concerning political news and news of various candidates, two out of three people see television as the major source of information and tend to feel that television is not as politically biased as are newspapers and magazines.[10]

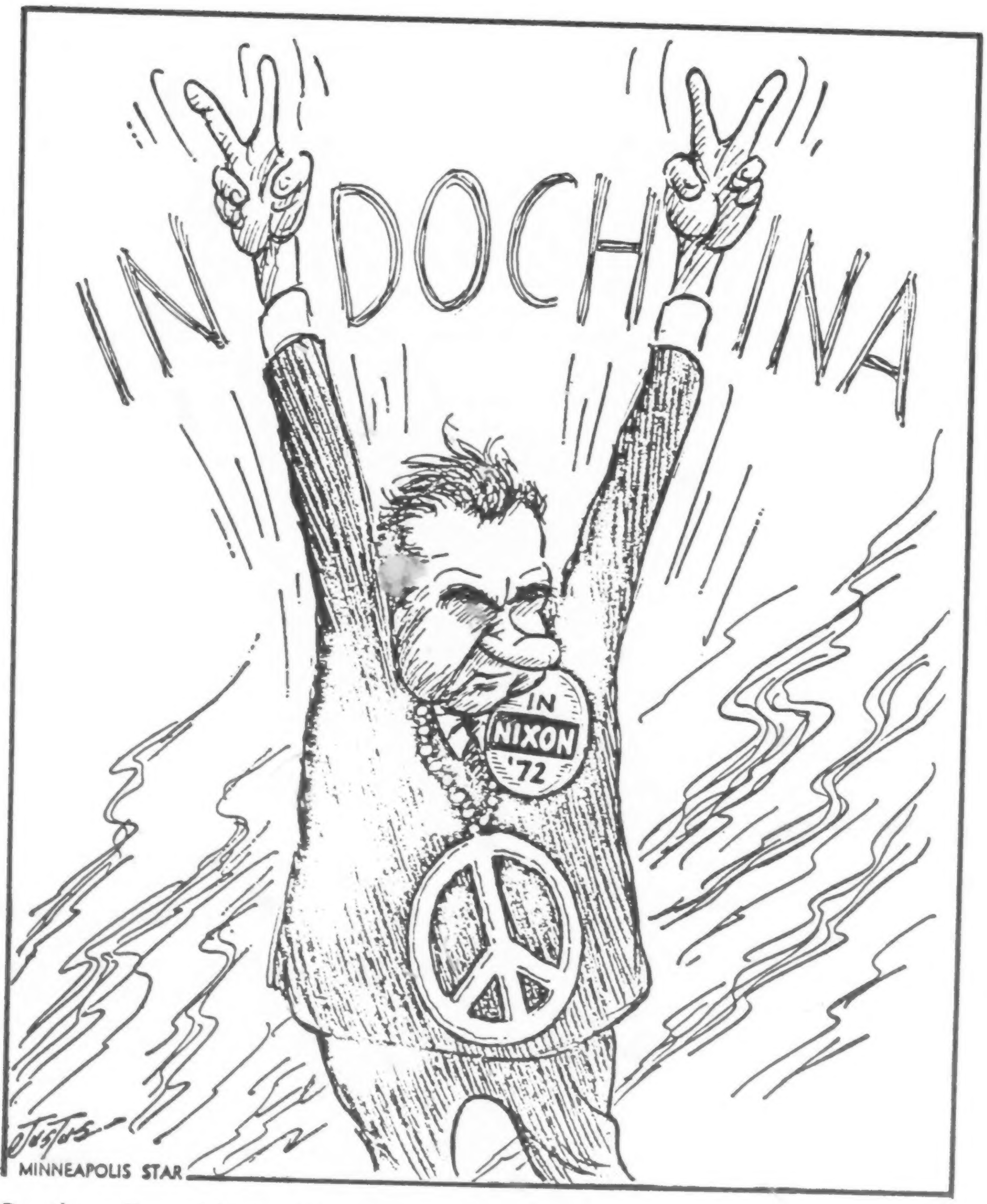
The television-viewing audience is so vast that in many ways it represents a microcosm of the total population. Viewers range from the college professor to the unskilled laborer. Some differences do appear: people with high school educations or less tend to watch the most television; people in the lower economic bracket tend to watch television more often than upper-income people do, and people living in the inner-city or ghetto areas tend to watch television more than others do.

Television is often used in election campaigns to transmit spot advertisements. These are sixty-second segments geared to catching the attention of potential voters. Prime viewing time is bought—after the news, during the break in football games, and after popular shows. Spot advertisements are often appealing and cleverly done. They show the candidate in the best possible light and leave much to the viewer's imagination.

Probably one of the most successful "spots" was the "Daisy Girl" segment run by the Democrats during the 1964 election. To discredit Goldwater's position on nuclear warfare and the testing of nuclear weapons, the Democrats ran a segment which depicted a small girl picking petals from a daisy as she sat in a meadow; a background voice began a countdown with a nuclear explosion and mushroom clouds coming at the end of the countdown; a background voice then said, "These are the stakes: To make a world in which all of God's children can live or go into the dark." The segment created controversy and caused people to tune-in to see what else the Democrats were going to offer.

Next to the spot commercial the filmed documentary is the most widely-used format. Dan Nimmo describes a segment filmed for the Nixon campaign in 1968:[11]

> Such production incorporates the tested techniques of show business: (1) Devise a symbolic scene representing the film's basic theme and repeat it at appropriate points to remind the audience of the desired image. In a documentary on Richard Nixon the producer built the candidate's image as being experienced in international negotiations by repeating scenes of an Air Force transport allegedly flying him to foreign countries (actually the scene had been filmed for a Jerry Lewis movie, Geisha Boy). (2) Instead of revealing too much about the candidate, give the impression that he can control situations without actually showing him doing so. Indeed, keep the candidate off the screen! To indicate, for example, that



Creating a Favorable Candidate Image. *Editorial cartoon by Roy Justus. Reprinted by permission of the* Minneapolis Star.

Richard Nixon could talk directly to the Russians, the film producer provided a shot of what appeared to be Russian antennae (actually culled from an old movie called Rat Patrol) and added Nixon's voice so that the audience had the impression the former Vice-President was indeed speaking directly to the Soviet people.

(3) Maximize visual effects by allowing pictures to speak for themselves; write the narrative script after the film is complete, thus adapting the spoken to the visual rather than the reverse; and steer away from the politician's tendency to use the same words and phrases over and over; in personal appearances the politician must be redundant to gain attention, but this is not true for film. (4) For dramatic emphasis of dull material, employ striking musical backgrounds. In 1968 Republican films depicted people starving in America to the tune of impressive drum rolls and Nixon's voice asking, "Have we come all this way just for this?"

What is the overall effect of television on the potential voter? No one knows for sure. It is evident that some key commercial presentations may have an immediate impact on a large segment of the population. However, whether or not the impact will be enough to influence voter behavior cannot be fully determined. In many cases timing is the key issue. The "Daisy Girl" spot mentioned above was successful because it was most unusual and came toward the latter part of the campaign. Such a spot too early in the campaign might have lost its appeal and lasting impact.

Television is not the only medium used by the astute politician. An effective campaign explores all the remote recesses of the mass electorate and seeks to find just one more voter who can be persuaded to vote for "the" candidate in the election. Some other techniques of persuasion, noted briefly, are:

1. *Slogans and songs:* People respond to a catchy phrase or song. Bumper stickers on automobiles have become very popular during the last five years. "In Your Heart You Know He's Right" and "All the Way With LBJ" were important political slogans from past Presidential elections. Social studies students might be interested in collecting and comparing various slogans used in the national and state elections.
2. *Advertising gimmicks:* Smiling faces peering from lighted billboards, telephone poles, office windows, and various other unlikely places are most popular during political elections.
3. *Newspapers and Magazines:* All candidates purchase space in most important metropolitan papers and in some national magazines. The use of this practice is somewhat limited, however, because most major newspapers and magazines take a position concerning a particular political candidate.
4. *Barnstorming:* Most candidates feel it is a necessity to get out and meet the people. Harry S Truman's "whis-

tle stop" campaign—stopping at small places on the railroad line—in which he gave short snappy talks in fighting language was successful in winning many votes. Candidates for office realize, however, that it is not possible to meet everyone; therefore, most tend to concentrate on areas where they have the most likely chance to win and in areas where the competition is most keen. In Presidential elections, this usually means that most candidates concentrate the majority of their efforts in the states that have the most electoral votes. In the end, this is where the final election will be won or lost. It is also unrealistic to assume that a candidate can travel across a country as large as the United States and withstand the mental and physical demands. Nixon's pledge in 1960 to visit every state was a commitment which taxed not only his campaigning strategy, but also his health.

5. *Opinion Polls:* Each major candidate has opinion polls conducted throughout his campaign. If results of these polls are favorable, they are given high publicity in the mass media. The overall effect of the use of political polls to influence people is debatable. The intelligent voter-participant should be cautious in his analysis of the results of any political poll. (See Sample Lesson 9 for a discussion of how to analyze public opinion polls.)

Do the efforts to persuade potential voters have any effect on their final choice of candidates? Is the political campaign worth all the money, time, and energy? Expenditures on the 1972 Presidential campaigns will probably exceed three hundred million dollars. Madison Avenue types have taken over campaign management for many candidates, and television has become the media of mass exposure. Both come with very high price tags. Are campaigns really worth this much cost and effort? Most politicians would reply that campaigns can make or break political careers, parties, and programs. Why else would Nelson Rockefeller spend $5 million for his reelection as governor of New York in 1968?[12]

Most political scientists disagree with the politicians' extravagant claims about the impact of election campaigns on the candidate choices of voters. They argue that campaigns are likely to reinforce rather than to change the opinions and preferences of most voters. (See pages 51 to 62 of Chapter 3 for a discussion of political party preferences, campaigns, and voter choices.)

The potential impact of the campaign on individuals is closely tied to their political involvement and interest. Potential voters with a high degree of personal involvement are usually more than just interested, attentive, and excited;

they become involved and identify with a party and/or candidate. These individuals, more than likely, make up their minds rather early in the campaign and are influenced very little by the propaganda and rhetoric.

The less involved voters are more susceptible to the influence of the political persuaders. Their political attitudes and interests are poorly articulated, of low intensity, and unstable. More than likely they do not identify with a particular party and view politics as they do a Sunday football game—as a spectator. These individuals are prime targets of the political persuaders. Media messages are aimed at guiding the uninvolved potential voter from his complacency to sufficient interest to vote. The professional campaigner presents potential voters with an ideal leader in whom they can place faith and trust. The image, however, remains sufficiently ambiguous as to permit the gradually politicized voters to "fill in the gaps" by projecting their own private needs and ideals.[13]

In close elections, the campaign may be decisive. A sizeable minority of voters, anywhere from 20 to 30 percent, may remain undecided about how to vote until the late stages of the election campaign. If most of the undecided voters decide to cast their ballots for the same candidate, or candidates, they could determine the election outcome.

Campaigns also stimulate people to vote during the general election. Several months pass between the party nominating conventions and the general elections in November. An effective campaign, which not only sparks voter interest but also contains an effective "get-out-the-vote" sequence, may influence the election outcome.

Campaigns may also be more effective in primary elections on the state and local levels. In these elections, partisan party feelings are identical for all voters; thus, the impact of the campaign may be greater. Voter decisions might also be more susceptible to influence because of the large number of unfamiliar candidates running for office.[14]

Campaigns often are means for voters to communicate opinions and policy preferences to candidates. Most winning candidates pay attention to the concerns of their constituents which are expressed during election campaigns; especially when these concerns appear to represent trends or widespread feeling. Thus, voters who have the skill to express their views articulately may be able to influence the behavior of incumbents or future officeholders during campaigns.[15]

Campaigns are less important than most politicians believe, but they are far from insignificant. Campaigns are important because they serve as a means for mobilizing support behind candidates for public office, permitting people to become involved in political activity, training political leaders, and bringing issues and problems to the attention of officeholders. Furthermore, in closely contested elections, the quality of the campaign can determine the election outcome.

The active political participant and the political spectator should strive to become critical appraisers of campaign appeals. Campaign managers and media experts are becoming increasingly adept in the art and technology of persuasion. To protect themselves against insidious efforts to influence their political behavior, young voters need to learn how to apply tools of analysis and critical judgment to the messages of politicians. Social studies teachers must strive to become increasingly skilled in teaching youngsters how to think critically and effectively, how to become skillful at deciding whether to accept or reject political arguments and appeals.

D. Sample Lesson for the Social Studies Classroom

In order to think critically about politics and to engage in inquiry about political phenomena, students must be able to appraise public opinion polls, to read statistical tables, and to determine whether or not the claims of politicians about public opinion are warranted. Public opinion polls are an important feature of American political life and people who lack skill in reading them can be duped easily.

The following sample lesson is designed to help social studies teachers to improve the poll reading capabilities of their students. This lesson has three parts: part one is a pretest, with answers and explanations; part two provides background information about the development of polling techniques in American politics and offers suggestions about critically reading a political opinion poll. Social studies teachers may use part two as additional reading material to supplement class work. Part three is an exercise designed to help students to critically appraise polls presented in newspapers and magazines.

Sample Lesson Number Nine

DEVELOPING POLL READING SKILLS

Part I: *Pretest of Poll Reading Skills*

DIRECTIONS: How much do you know about reading a political poll and determining whether or not it is reliable? This is an exercise designed to provide you with some information which may help you make more sense out of political polls. Read each question carefully. Choose the one response that best answers the question. Following each question is a brief discussion about the answer. Check your answer with the correct one, and read the information.

* * * * *

Look at the table presented below. Following the table are several statements. Based on the data in the table, respond to each statement by marking one of the following answers:

A. Correct
B. Incorrect
C. There is no way to tell if the statement is correct or incorrect.

TABLE 16: Political Party Preferences of Two Age Groups in Zenith City

Political Party Preference		*Age Groups*	
		Younger Voters	Older Voters
Democrats		50%	70%
Republicans		20%	25%
Independent		15%	5%
Don't Know		15%	0%
	Total	100%	100%

_____ 1. Fifteen percent of the younger voters are Independents.

_____ 2. The Democrats will win the next election in Zenith City.

_____ 3. Forty-five percent of the voters in Zenith City are Republicans.

•

What were your answers to the questions which are given above? Did you get them all right? Number one is correct. Look at the column marked "Younger Voters." Go down the column to the number beside "Independent." The number is 15 percent and it is the correct response. Remember, always read only the numbers in the same column. In Table 16 you would read *down* each column. The answer to number two is C because we cannot tell for sure how an election will come out. Even though most of the younger and older voters say they prefer the Democratic party, we cannot be positive about how they will vote. Many things could happen. We might make a guess that the Democrats will probably win because they have strong support. This would be a hypothesis that we could test after the election. Number three is incorrect because you cannot add across percentages in a table. Each column of percentages represents a different number of people. Twenty percent represents a number of all the younger voters; 25 percent represents a number of older voters. We cannot tell what percent of *all* the voters in Zenith City the percentages represent.

Below are two sets of questions that were constructed for use in a questionnaire. Read carefully each set of questions and decide which *one* question is best. Put the letter beside the question number.

____ 4. A. The President, the Vice-President, and the members of the Cabinet are in favor of the Jones Pollution Bill. Do you favor the Clean Cities Program?

B. Do you favor the Clean Cities Program over those other programs to improve our cities?

C. There are two programs to improve our cities—the Clean Cities Program and the Jones Pollution Bill. Which do you prefer?

____ 5. A. Do you think the present mayor is doing a better job than the previous mayor?

B. Do you agree with our governor that the present mayor is doing a better job than the previous mayor?

C. Some people think our present mayor is doing a little better job than the previous mayor. What kind of job do you think the mayor is doing?

•

Questions must be worded very carefully. People should be allowed to make up their own minds. Questions A and B in number four and questions B and C in number 5 are poor questions. The best questions are 4-C and 5-A. Each asks the person about something as clearly as possible without trying to influence his response. Question 4-A says the President, Vice-President, and the Cabinet are all in favor of one program and then asks if you are for another one. Few people may be willing to support something the President, Vice-President, and Cabinet do not support. Questions 5-B and 5-C are similar questions. Question 4-B is too vague. What are "those other programs"? Now look at 4-C and 5-A; can you see the differences?

•

A group of students in your school wanted to know how other students felt about student government. They developed a questionnaire and decided to ask 200 students to answer the questions. There were several ways they could have chosen their sample. Listed below are some of the ways. Choose the best method and put the letter beside the question number.

____ 6. A. Obtain a list of all the students in the American government classes. Put their names in a hat and draw out 200.

B. Stand in front of the school and ask the first 200 students who come up to the school.

C. Obtain an alphabetical list of all the students. Divide the list into two alphabetical lists, one for boys and one for girls. Then choose every other name on each list until 100 boys and 100 girls have been chosen.

D. Obtain a list of all the student names in the school. Put the names into a box, shake the box thoroughly, and draw out 200 names.

•

The best sampling procedure is D because it is a random sample, each boy and girl in the school had the same chance of being in the sample as did every other boy and girl. This was not the case for the other procedures. Method A would only have students from American government classes. What about all those students not in American government? Standing in front of the school may miss a lot of students who come in other doors or come late. These students may have different ideas about student government than the first 200 you "caught." Method C is better than A or B, but one mistake was made that ruined the sample. Know what it was? Right—they chose every other name on the list and thereby systematically excluded a lot of people. How could Method C be made random?

•

How did you do? Did you get all the answers correct? To learn more about the development, reading, and understanding of public opinion polls, study part two of this lesson: "Public Opinion Polls and Politics."

Part II: *Public Opinion Polls and Politics*

Political leaders must know what their constituents think about various issues facing the polity if they are to represent them effectively. This "need to know" becomes more important during an election year in which many political futures are at stake. To meet the need for information concerning the political opinions of the electorate, public opinion polls were created.

One of the earliest polls was in 1824. The Harrisburg *Pennsylvanian* reported on a Delaware "straw vote" which erroneously forecast the election of Andrew Jackson as President. John Quincy Adams won. It was not until 1916, however, that national polls began to draw the attention of the public. A popular weekly magazine, *The Literary Digest*, began forecasting Presidential elections. Although the methods were far from scientific, the magazine was successful in forecasting the final outcome until 1936.

The Presidential election of 1936 pitted Alfred Landon against Franklin D. Roosevelt. Basing their forecast of the election on 2,375,000 responses by people who owned automobiles and telephones, *The Literary Digest* predicted Landon as the winner. This was a gross miscalculation because those who responded were not representative of the national population. Roosevelt's victory spelled doom for the magazine and its polling techniques.

Two pollsters, George Gallup and Elmo Roper, were successful in predicting Roosevelt's landslide victory. Gallup's and Roper's success ushered in a new era of political opinion polling based on the scientific methods of survey research and design. For example, instead of sending out postcards to people whose names were found in the telephone directory or in lists of automobile owners, techniques which approximated random sampling were used. Such methods yielded samples of voters who more nearly represented the total voting population.

Today there are over 200 polling firms described by the *Congressional Quarterly* as "large and small, reliable and worse than worthless." The Gallup Poll (The American Institute of Public Opinion), the oldest currently in the field, and the Harris Survey (Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.) operate nationwide agencies and sell their findings to hundreds of newspapers. Most other firms survey public opinion for private use only.

Whether or not polls affect politicians and elections is a debatable question. Politicians, more than the public at large, watch political polls carefully. Many base important decisions on the results of data gathered by various private and public pollsters. Three examples illustrate this point. George Romney withdrew from the 1968 Presidential primary in New Hampshire after one of his private polls rated his strength at only 11 percent. Romney had tremendous faith in polls which had been built over the years that he was head of American Motors. After repeated efforts to gain support failed to increase his popularity, Romney decided he had no chance to beat Mr. Nixon. Whether his decision was correct is open to question; however, the final effect was to cause Romney to drop from contention as a Presidential candidate.

A second illustration demonstrates the serious blow the results of polls can have on the morale and finances of a campaign. In August, 1968, a Gallup Poll showed Hubert Humphrey 16 points behind Richard Nixon in the race for the Presidency. The results were immediate. According to William Connell, a veteran Humphrey aide, "It was a serious body blow. The money began to dry up and our workers became dispirited." More importantly, financial contributions suddenly became quite scarce. Humphrey backers did return to the "race" at a later time. But by that time the polls also had indicated that the Presidential election was going to be a horse race.

A third but much weaker illustration concerns President Johnson's decision to withdraw from the Presidential race in 1968. When President Johnson announced in March of 1968 his decision not to seek reelection, it came at a time when public opinion polls were showing his popularity at an all-time low, 36 percent. It is, of course, wrong to assume that Johnson's final decision was based solely on the results of the polls. The Vietnam War was undoubtedly a primary determinant. However, if Johnson's popularity among the electorate had been at an all-time high, his decision may have been different.

Do polls have an impact on the outcome of elections? Professional political pollsters deny that there is any "Bandwagon" effect, voters seeing that a candidate is ahead in the polls and deciding to back a winner. However, other political observers contend that political polls can have a dramatic effect on the final results. Polls may be of particular importance in primary elections. In primaries, the voters are usually all from one party and many of them are looking for a winner. If the polls show a particular candidate they can relate to coming up, they may join him in his climb. Proponents of this position point to the New Hampshire Presidential primary of 1964 in which Henry Cabot Lodge swept to victory in the closing hours of the campaign, after the pollsters had detected a growing groundswell for him.

Some observers of voting behavior also suggest that polls may have a negative effect on voter turnout. If during a campaign one particular candidate appears to be the overwhelming choice of the electorate, many potential voters may choose not to vote because they assume their vote will not alter the outcome of the election.

Whether or not public opinion polls influence politicians and election results, they are a fact of life in American politics. The question that faces young and older voters alike is, "How do you read a poll?" Although there are many factors to consider, answering five preliminary questions may provide insights into the possible meaning of pollsters' forecasts.

1. *Who conducted the poll?* There are over 200 agencies polling public opinion. The vast majority of these work for private individuals and parties. Because these polls are not open to public scrutiny, they are more susceptible to manipulation and abuse. At times candidates will "leak" information to the press about certain "facts" gathered by a private pollster. Such data tend always to

favor the candidate. It is always wise to ask who sponsored the poll and what agency conducted the survey.

2. *When and where was the study conducted?* A poll, like a photograph, is accurate only at the moment it is taken. Moreover, there is usually a lag of at least a week between when the poll was conducted and the presentation of the results. Between that time public opinion may change drastically. Where the poll is conducted is also important. A poll conducted in a particular region or area may show a candidate in a favorable light. However, if this area is a stronghold of candidate support the poll has little real meaning. For example, during the Johnson administration, officials leaked information showing Johnson with strong support from the electorate. The "bellwether" county turned out to be one in which Johnson had received his highest margin of victory in 1964.

3. *What kind of sampling techniques were used?* It is not humanly or economically possible to ask every voter how he feels about a particular issue. To combat this problem, pollsters select a sample of people from the population as a whole and ask them their opinions. Sampling techniques are not easy, however. The old *Literary Digest* made one fundamental error—those people on whom they based their forecasts did not represent the voting public as a whole. Their sample was biased; it represented only those wealthier people who had autos and/or telephones. To combat this problem, modern pollsters use random sampling methods based on probability theory. Random sampling means that in a nationwide poll of American voters, each individual has the same chance of inclusion in the sample as the next individual. Everyone has an equal chance to be in the sample. Probability theory says that if there were 1000 students in a school—500 boys and 500 girls—and if one were to randomly select 50 names 25 names would be boys and 25 names girls, within a three percent margin of error.

   Gallup, Harris, Roper, and other large polling agencies use variations of the random sampling technique. Gallup, for instance, randomly selects 300 sections of the United States. Within each section he then randomly selects five voters to be interviewed. Interviewers are then sent out to contact the voter. The total sample size is 1,500 voters—the lowest number of people which yields a low percentage of error. Gallup's 1968 forecast was the most accurate ever. His final pre-election poll was within one-half of one percentage point on the Nixon popular vote total and less than one percentage point on the Humphrey total.

The poll reader must be aware of the effects of sampling upon the final results. Samples which are not based on random selection introduce factors which bias the results. The reader must also be aware of the following factors which influence results.

A. *Normal sampling error.* Probability theory states that one can expect certain results within a three percent margin of error. What could that mean in polling? For example, on October 18, 1968, Harris reported that 40 percent of the voters favored Mr. Nixon. Accounting for statistical error of 3 to 4 percent, Mr. Nixon could have had 36 to 44 percent of the vote. The same poll showed Mr. Humphrey with 35 percent of the probable voters. A figure which in actuality could have been between 31 and 39 percent. Net effect—a comfortable Nixon lead (44 to 31) could have been a slight Humphrey victory (39-36)! Pollsters are aware of this margin of error, but the voter and press tend to look at the "hard" facts.

B. *Non-response.* This is a major problem of polls. What about the people who are not at home when the interviewer calls? The not-at-homes could be statistically crucial. Warren Miller of the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, explained the problem in the following manner. "There is good evidence that the people who are not at home are significantly different types of people. The first call always gets the poor widow and the sixth gets the rich businessman who is rarely home." How people who are not at home vote is an important consideration.

C. *Clustering.* It is faster, cheaper, and easier to talk to 15 people in one block or political precinct. Too many people from one area, however, tends to put too many people of similar backgrounds and political orientations in the sample. This may bias the sample. Clustering is done to cut corners. Most major pollsters use as many as 15 to 17 interviews in a precinct during early polls but reduce the numbers closer to November.

D. *Interviewer errors.* Interviewers make mistakes. Some are unintentional. Some are deliberate; interviews may be faked and false data may be turned in as authentic. Twenty-five phony interviews could have tremendous effect on a poll's forecasts.

4. *What were the questions?* The wording of a question in a questionnaire must not influence responses or bias the answers. Questions must be worded so that they mean the same thing to each person. Vaguely worded questions can alter responses by 10 to 40 percent. When ex-

amining a poll, check to see if the original question is presented for your analysis, and critically read the questions to determine if they are ambiguous or "loaded."

5. *Were the findings of the poll stated clearly and consistently?* In order to judge a poll, one must have access to all the key information about the design of the poll and the salient findings. On the basis of these clearly stated findings, one can judge whether the conclusions presented in a polling report are consistent with the data and the polling procedures. For example, a poll of a midwestern sample should not be used to make conclusions about the national population.

Answers to the five basic questions posed above should yield insights into the potential hazards of reading a political opinion poll. The careful reader should also be aware that a small percentage of those individuals polled may not tell the truth to the interviewers. Secondly, general trends of voter sentiment fail to consider the impact of the electoral college vote upon the final outcome of a Presidential election. A candidate does not need to win a plurality in order to win the Presidency. Lastly, the undecided voter may have considerable impact on an election. The pollster, like other political observers, can only speculate about where these undecided voters stand. This factor may be of greater importance in 1972 because of the large number of independent voters among the young voters.

Part Three: *Appraising Public Opinion Polls*

The following checklist reflects the criteria for appraising polls discussed on pages 128 to 131. You might use this checklist in two ways. First, you can try to explain the utility of each question of the checklist in helping one to appraise a public opinion poll. Second, you can try to apply the checklist to the appraisal of several public opinion polls reported in magazines and newspapers. A very good poll should yield a "yes" answer to every question on the checklist.

DIRECTIONS: Use the following questions to help yourself appraise public opinion polls.

______ 1. Did reputable professionals conduct the poll?
  A. Yes
  B. No
______ 2. Does the poll present an up-to-date picture of the target population?
  A. Yes
  B. No

______3. Was the sampling procedure designed to minimize the possibility of bias?
A. Yes
B. No

______4. Was the sample large enough to yield an accurate picture of the target population?
A. Yes
B. No.

______5. Were the questions used in the study designed to minimize the possibility of bias?
A. Yes
B. No

______6. Were the questions used in the study clearly stated so as to minimize confusion among the respondents?
A. Yes
B. No

______7. Were the number of respondents with "no opinion" clearly revealed and was this statistic considered in the report of the findings?
A. Yes
B. No

______8. Were the findings of the study clearly stated in writing and through the presentation of data in statistical tables?
A. Yes
B. No

______9. Was the report of the findings of the poll consistent with the data and the procedures used to collect the data?
A. Yes
B. No

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[1] Nelson W. Polsby and Aaron B. Wildavsky, *Presidential Elections* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1964), pp. 5-6.

[2] League of Women Voters of the United States, *When You Write to Washington: A Guide for Citizen Action*, Pub. No. 349 (Washington, D.C.: League of Women Voters, 1971), pp. 6-7.

[3] Lincoln Filene Center, *Practical Political Action* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970), pp. 108-109.

[4] Social studies teachers and students should check state laws regulating the political power of the precinct caucus.

[5] Dan Nimmo, *The Political Persuaders* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 10.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

[7] Movement for a New Congress, *Vote Power* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 14.

[8] William T. Murphy, Jr., "Student Power in the 1970 Election: A Preliminary Assessment," *PS*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (Winter, 1971).

[9] Dan Nimmo, *The Political Persuaders*, p. 114.

[10] James David Barber, *Citizen Politics: An Introduction to Political Behavior* (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1972), p. 139.

[11] Dan Nimmo, *The Political Persuaders*, pp. 153-154.

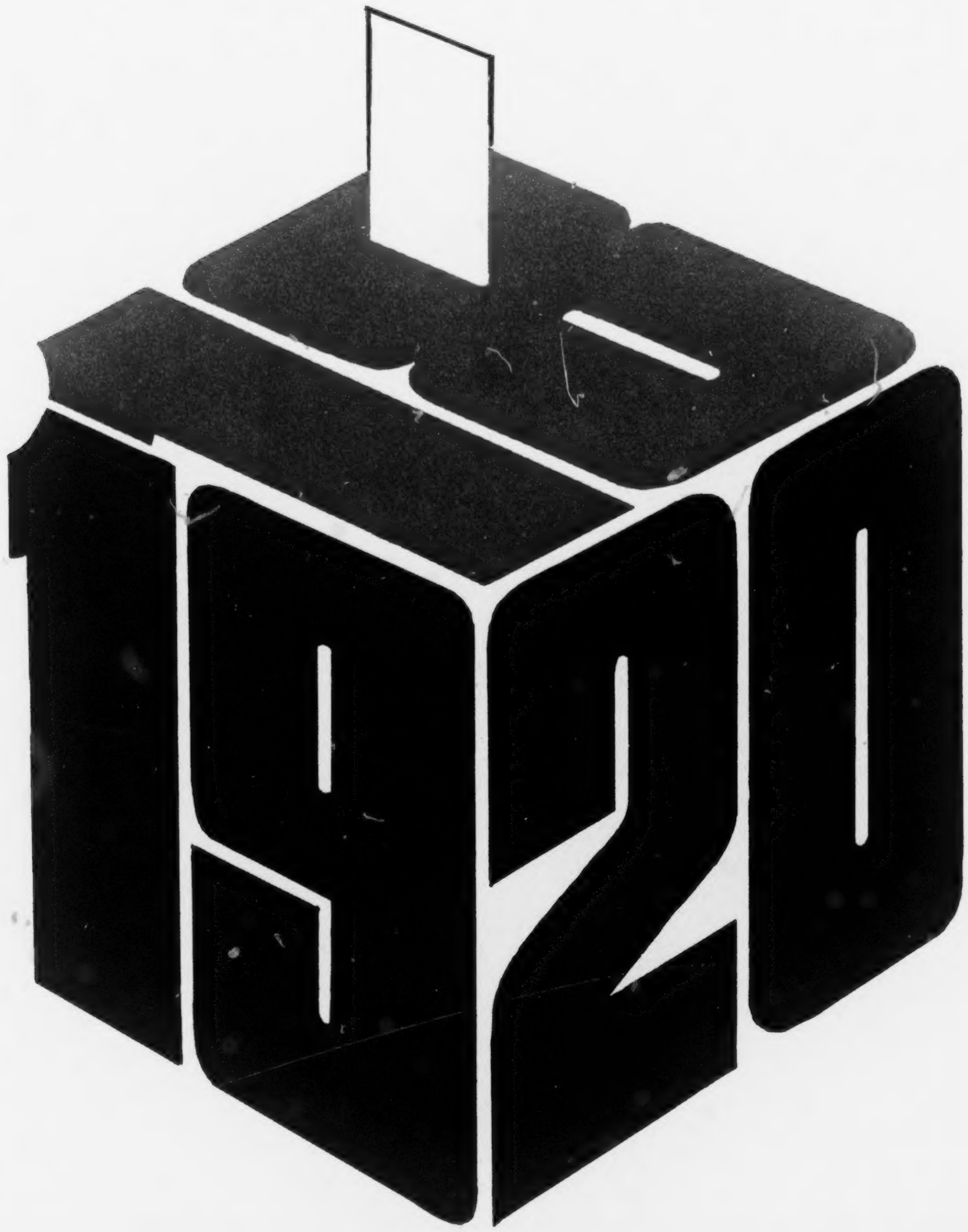
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[15] Conrad Joyner, *The American Politician* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1971), pp. 174-176.

NOTES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APPENDIX:

A GUIDE TO MATERIALS ABOUT VOTER BEHAVIOR AND ELECTIONS

One of the problems confronting the social studies teacher as he prepares to develop an instructional unit is the selection of pertinent materials. The information provided in this volume is a step toward providing data for a more meaningful study of politics. However, there are many other sources available which may be used for background reading and/or the development of lesson plans. To assist the teacher in his search, we have collected a series of materials which we feel are up-to-date in their analysis of voting and elections, relevant for use in today's classroom, and adaptable to the social studies curricula. The various materials are divided into the following areas: (1) books, (2) periodicals, (3) films, (4) instructional kits, (5) simulations and games. Each entry is annotated to enable the teacher to judge its content and value as an instructional tool.

The books and periodicals that have been selected are those we feel are the most readable and provide the most current information about politics. These readings provide excellent background material for the teacher and in some cases may be used as sources for students. The films, instructional kits, and simulations and games are most useful as supplementary material. Through careful selection various classroom lessons and learning episodes may be enriched. The teacher should be careful to analyze the lesson's goals before adding any of these materials.

A. Selected Books

AEP Unit Book, *U. S. Elections, 1972* (Middletown, Connecticut: American Education Publications, 1972).

This is a 32-page Unit Book which provides students with a complete rundown on the 1972 national elections—profiles on the candidates for President and Vice-President, key issues and party platforms, the congressional and state races. There are chapters on the Electoral College, the expected influence of teen-age voters, a look at earlier elections, and suggestions on how students can help to get out the vote.

Barber, James David, *Citizen Politics: An Introduction to Political Behavior*, Second Edition (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1972).

An introductory text on political behavior. A good review of the research literature.

Cass, Don Pirie, *How to Win Votes and Influence Elections: A Nonpartisan Guide to Effective Political Work* (Chicago: The Public Administration Service, 1962).

This is a practical guide to election campaign tactics.

Congressional Quarterly Books, and Research Reports (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc.).

The following volumes contain a wealth of information about current issues, candidates, election campaigns, and voter behavior. They are extremely useful tools in the social studies classroom.

1. BOOKS
    - (a) *Politics in America, 1971*
    - (b) *Historical Review of Presidential Candidates, 1968*
    - (c) *America Votes, 1970*
    - (d) *Nixon: The First Year of His Presidency, 1970*
    - (e) *Nixon: The Second Year of His Presidency, 1971*
2. RESEARCH REPORTS
    - (a) *Public Polls Vary Widely in Accuracy and Reliability*, September 18, 1971
    - (b) *Growing Suburban Counties Loom Large in Presidential Election*, September 4, 1971
    - (c) *Congressional Districts: A Special 1972 Election Report*, March 22, 1971
    - (d) *Voting Studies*, January 29, 1971
    - (e) *Politics and Youth*, April 8, 1970
    - (f) *Polls in Election Campaigns*, July 26, 1968
    - (g) *Television and Politics*, May 15, 1968

DeVries, Walter and Tarrance, V. Lance, *The Ticket-Splitters: A New Force in American Politics* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1972).

An imaginative discussion of hypotheses about the increasing incidence and importance of ticket-splitting and independence from political party identification. This study challenges some widely-held beliefs about voter behavior and will spark lively debates.

Dexter, Lewis Anthony, *The Sociology and Politics of Congress* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1969), pp. 15-76.

Chapters 1 and 2 of this book are concerned with the impact of elections on Congress.

Dunn, Delmer D., *Financing Presidential Campaigns* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1971).

This book discusses the problem of rising campaign expenses and discusses reform proposals.

Flanigan, William H., *Political Behavior of the American Electorate* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968), pp. 27-116.

Relationship of social variables to voter behavior. Explanations of voter behavior are constructed. This book presents condensed versions of the voter behavior research.

Free, Lloyd A. and Cantril, Hadley, *The Political Beliefs of Americans* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1967).

The authors analyze the 1964 Presidential election and indicate possible fruitful campaign strategies in future election campaigns.

Friedheim, Jerry Warden, *Where Are the Voters?* (Washington: The National Press, 1968), pp. 50-235.

Easy-to-read discussion of the correlates of voter behavior. It includes numerous easy-to-read tables.

Hiebert, Ray, *et al.*, (eds.), *The Political Image Merchants: Strategies in the New Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1971).

This is a book of articles about election campaign techniques characteristic of the "new politics."

Keech, William R., *The Impact of Negro Voting* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1968).

This is a study of the impact of voting on public policy in Tuskegee, Alabama and Durham, North Carolina.

Lane, Robert E., *Political Life* (New York: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 8-44.

Chapters 2 and 3 of this book contain an excellent brief history of voter eligibility laws and the extension of the suffrage in the United States.

Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs. *Practical Political Action, A Guide for Citizens* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970).

A guide to political participation directed to the teacher and social studies student.

Lindblom, Charles E., *The Policy-Making Process* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 43-61.

Discusses the impact of the vote on public policy decisions.

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Raab, Earl, *The Politics of Unreason* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 338-427.

Chapters 9 and 10 of this book present a detailed analysis of the "George Wallace Movement." The "Wallace Voter" is identified and dissected.

Liston, Robert A., *Politics from Precinct to Presidency* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 110-155.

Easy-to-read journalistic account of elections and campaigns. Filled with vivid examples.

McClenaghan, William, *Magruder's American Government* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1972).

This high school text is an excellent guide to the legal aspects of voting and elections in our country.

Mehlinger, Howard D. and Patrick, John J., *American Political Behavior* (Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1972).

Chapters 9, 10, and 11 of this high school textbook contain lessons about voter behavior and elections.

Mitchell, William C., *Why Vote?* (Chicago: Markham Pub., 1971).

This book focuses on the young voters and their potential impact on the political system.

Mitchell, Malcolm, *Propaganda, Polls, and Public Opinion* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

A book of readings by social scientists about influencing attitudes and opinions. The text contains materials which may be used as supplementary readings.

Nimmo, Dan, *The Political Persuaders* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

This book is a study of the effectiveness of modern election campaign techniques.

Parris, Judith H., *The Convention Problem: Issues in Reform of Presidential Nominating Procedures* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1972).

This book discusses criticisms of our method for nominating Presidential candidates and examines proposals for reform.

Pohl, Frederick, *Practical Politics 1972* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971).

A book about politics written for the layman. A "how-to-do-it" book about getting involved in grass roots politics.

Pomper, Gerald, *Elections in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1968), pp. 68-98, 149, 203, 204-266.

Social factors that influence voter choice, the impact of the vote on public policy, and differences between the Democratic and Republican party are discussed in a scholarly manner.

Pomper, Gerald, *Nominating the President* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1963).

Scholarly discussion of our system of selecting Presidents.

Registration and Voting Laws of the Fifty States (Washington, D.C.: Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc., 1971).

This compendium of voter eligibility and election laws can be obtained from Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc. 2317 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. The price is $12.00.

Ribicoff, Abraham, and Newman, Jon O., *Politics: The American Way* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967).

Very readable discussion of election procedures, political campaigns, and voting behavior.

Roseboom, Eugene, *A Short History of Presidential Elections* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967).

Short descriptions of every Presidential election.

Safire, William and Loeb, Marshall, *Plunging into Politics: How to Become or Support a Candidate on the National, State, or Local Level* (New York: David McKay Company, 1964).

A "how-to-do-it primer" of practical politics.

Sayre, Wallace S. and Parris, Judith H., *Voting for President: The Electoral College and the American Political System* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970).

This book presents a comprehensive analysis of our system for electing a President. Alternatives to the present system are critically examined.

Scammon, Richard M. and Wattenberg, Ben J., *The Real Majority* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Inc., Capricorn Books Edition, 1971).

This book is a thoroughgoing analysis of the American electorate. The demography of the electorate, public opinion studies, and the correlates of voter behavior provide the basis for conclusions about American elections and for projections about the 1972 election.

Schneier, Edward and Murphy, William T., *Vote Power: The Official Activist Campaigner's Handbook* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

This book combines analysis of voter behavior studies with practical suggestions for influencing election outcomes.

White, Theodore H., *The Making of the President: 1960* (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1961).

A very readable journalistic account of the Kennedy-Nixon Presidential election campaign.

White, Theodore H., *The Making of the President: 1964* (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1965).

A very readable journalistic account of the Goldwater-Johnson Presidential election campaign.

White, Theodore H., *The Making of the President: 1968* (New York: Pocket Books, 1970).

Widely acclaimed journalistic account of a recent Presidential election. Full of political insights.

Wyckoff, Gene, *The Image Candidates: American Politics in the Age of Television* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968).

Discussion of election campaigns from the perspective of the modern professional campaign manager. The application of advertising techniques to political campaigns is described.

Youth Info Digest—'72 (Washington, D.C.: Washington Workshop Press, 1971).

This is a handy guide to organizations and information pertinent to study of current issues and to effective political participation. The price of the book is $5.50 and it can be obtained from the Washington Workshops Foundation, 1111 Munsey Building, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

B. Selected Periodical Articles

Converse, Philip E., Clausen, Aage R., and Miller, Warren E., "Electoral Myth and Reality: The 1964 Election." *American Political Science Review*, 59 (June, 1965), pp. 321-336.

Profound analysis of the campaign strategies of the Republicans in the Presidential election of 1964.

Converse, Philip E., Miller, Warren E., Rusk, Jerrold G., and Wolfe, Arthur C., "Continuity and Change in American Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election." *American Political Science Review*, 63 (December, 1969), pp. 1101-1104.

Statistical analysis of the 1968 Presidential election.

Harper's, 243 (September, 1971), p. 38.

Discussion of the voter eligibility laws as they pertain to college student voters.

Kingdom, John, "Politicians' Beliefs About Voters." *American Political Science Review*, 61 (March, 1967), pp. 131-145.

Discussion of the relationship between politicians' views of voters and the conduct of political strategy.

New Republic (The), 165 (September 11, 1971), pp. 7-9.

Discussion of controversy about whether college students should vote where they go to school or where their parents live.

Newsweek (October 25, 1971), pp. 28-30, 35, 38, 41, 44, 49.

Detailed analysis of the demography and political opinions of young voters. Based on a recent survey by the Gallup Poll.

Time (May 31, 1968), pp. 18-19.

Discussion of polling and its impact on voting. Raises issues of whether polling helps or hinders democracy.

Time, 98 (August 23, 1971), pp. 9-10.

Discussion about the possible impact of young voters in the 1972 election.

Pettigrew, Thomas F., Riley, Robert T., and Vanneman, Reeve D., "George Wallace's Constituents." *Psychology Today*, 5 (February, 1972), pp. 47-49, 92.

Study of urban supporters of George Wallace.

Rappeport, Michael, "The Kids Will Be More Than Just Younger." *The Washington Monthly*, 2 (September, 1970), pp. 52-54.

Commentary about the likely impact of new young voters on the political system.

RePass, David E., "Issue Salience and Party Choice." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 65 (June, 1971), pp. 389-400.

Discussion of issues as a factor influencing voter choices.

Seagull, Louis, "The Youth Vote and Change in American Politics." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 397 (September, 1971), pp. 89-96.

Senior Scholastic, 99 (November 1, 1971).

Political leaders comment about the importance of youth participation in politics.

Singer, Richard, "Home Is Where the Vote Is." *The Nation*, 213 (September 13, 1971), pp. 202-205.

Discussion of issues surrounding the registration of college student voters.

Synopsis: Viewpoints of Social Issues—Problems and Remedies (Evanston, Illinois: Curriculum Innovations, Inc.).

Synopsis is a magazine for high school students which presents multiple viewpoints about controversies in our society of the past and present. Examination of these issues can help students to more fully understand the controversies pertinent to Presidential elections. Information about how to obtain past and future issues of *Synopsis* can be obtained from Curriculum Innovations, Inc., 1611 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois 60620.

U. S. News and World Report, 71 (July 12, 1971), p. 58.

Discussion of the possible effect of young voters on the 1972 Presidential election.

Yankelovich, Daniel, "What They Believe." *Fortune*, 79 (January 1969), p. 70.

Survey of socio-political opinions of American youth and their elders which reveal a gap in beliefs between college students and their working-class peers.

C. Selected Films

Campaign: American Style (CBS News Film), 39 min.

Political campaigns have been big business. Major political offices are won through the use of many of the advertising techniques associated with big business. This film explores in depth the new campaign tactics. This film was produced by CBS News and is distributed by Bailey Film Associates.

Campaign in the City (UMITV), 19 min.

Depicts one Detroit councilman's campaign for reelection. Planning of overall strategy is the first step. Financial support emerges as one of the prime problems, and fund-raising techniques are subsequently discussed. Emphasizes and illustrates the crucial importance of volunteer workers. This film is produced and distributed by University of Michigan TV Center, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Louisiana Diary (NET), 59 min.

Documents a black voter-registration drive in the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana conducted by CORE in 1963. Brief scenes depict the attitudes of both blacks and whites, boycotts and demonstrations by blacks, and the actual attempts to encourage reluctant blacks to register. Training sessions for CORE organizers show the inculcation of non-violent responses. The film points out that voter registration is not only important in itself but also is a tool for potential change in the entire social system. It is an action-oriented film which surfaces the power potential in large numbers for mass action. This is a National Education Television film.

Making of the President Series (The)

The extraordinary package contains seven films, four of which pertain to the presidential election of 1968. Six of the films are derived from Theodore White's television documentaries on *The Making of the President.* The series, which is distributed by Films Incorporated, includes the following titles:

1. *The Election of 1932,* 20 min.
2. *The Nominating Process: 1960,* 20 min.
3. *Politics in the Television Age: 1970,* 20 min.
4. *The Primaries I—Challenge to a President: 1968, 20 min.*
5. *The Primaries II—The Democrats, a Party in Transition: 1968,* 23 min.
6. *The Conventions—The Process in Crisis: 1968,* 23 min.
7. *How the Votes Are Packaged,* 17 min.

Our Election Day Illusions—The Beat Majority: Part 2—The Electoral College (CBS TV), 25 min.

Points out the adequacies and inadequacies of the Electoral College and describes its procedures and functions. Poses the question of whether national elections always reflect the will of the people. Alternative proposals for modifying the system are discussed. This CBS Television film is distributed by Carousel Films, Inc.

Parties and Our Election System (NET), 30 min.

Outlines the features of the Electoral College, compares the election system of 1789 with the modified system now in use, and describes the Presidential election process. The National Educational Television film evaluates the present system and changes which have been proposed.

Pollsters and Politics (CBS), 26 min.

Depicts techniques of polling and tells how polls are used in election campaigns. This is a CBS Television film and is distributed by Association Instructional Materials.

Presidential Nominations (NET), 30 min.

Discusses the functions, organization, and procedures of a national political convention. This is a National Educational Television Film.

True Story of an Election (The) (Dimension Films), 56 min.

Emphasizes that power changes hands devoid of violence through the vote. Depicts an actual congressional election and sketches the campaign via three processes: the battle of the candidates, the publicity battle, and the precinct politics battle. Describes in detail the need by both parties for workers and money. The impact or power of the vote is somewhat exaggerated. A thorough post-mortem of the campaign is included. Although the film is somewhat lengthy, excitement and interest are maintained by not divulging the winner until the last moment. It is distributed by Churchill Films.

United States Elections: How We Vote (A Bernard Wilets Film), 13½ min.

This film introduces the student to the process by which citizens vote and to the election workers who make fair elections possible. This film is distributed by Bailey Film Associates.

Vote Power (FI), 30 min.

Includes commentary by Mayor Richard Hatcher on the importance of each vote in an election; he asserts that voting is essential to accomplishing change in American society. The power of the vote is reflected by attempts to buy or steal votes or to threaten voters in order to win an election. According to Hatcher, the right to vote is the most crucial factor in our society. The effect of the vote is pervasive in American society because government affects everything—and nothing is more important than the vote in affecting government. The film is produced and distributed by Films Inc., 733 Greenbay Road, Wilmette, Illinois 69901.

D. Selected Educational Kits, Simulations and Games

Selected Educational Kits

The New York Times has designed multi-media educational kits to help high school students study the 1972 Presidential election. These kits contain cassettes, records, filmstrips, and reading materials about past Presidential election campaigns and about the 1972 campaign: The titles of the kits in the 1972-73 series are: (1) "Part I—Pre-Election Campaigning" and (2) "Part II—After the Election." Part I is to be available in September, 1972 and Part II is to be available in December, 1972.

For additional information about these educational kits write to: *The New York Times*, Teaching Resources, Multi-Media Division, 488 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022.

Selected Simulations and Games

There are numerous educational games and simulations on the market, many of them very poorly designed and of little educational value. We highly recommend the two simulations and one board game described below. These materials rate very high in terms of the criteria for evaluating educational games and simulations which are discussed in the following article: Gillespie, Judith, "Analyzing and Evaluating Classroom Games," SOCIAL EDUCATION, *36, (January 1972), pp. 33-42; 94.*

Campaign. Developed by Instructional Simulations, Inc., 2147 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota, 55414. Price: $85.00.

Campaign is a political simulation designed to get state legislators elected or defeated according to their stands on issues. Students play multiple roles such as convention chairmen, delegates, news media, campaign chairmen, or election analysts. Materials include players' manuals, team manuals, background information, candidate profiles, and information on news media. The game can be used with 16-32 players in junior high, high school, college, continuing education, and civic groups. It takes 4-8 hours or 4-8 class sessions to play.

City Hall. Developed by Judith A. Gillespie and produced by Ginn and Company, 191 Spring Road, Lexington, Massachusetts 02173. Price: $7.96.

City Hall is a political simulation in which the major objective is for students to win a city mayoral election campaign by making a series of decisions about party loyalty, issue positions, candidate appeal, group organization, and resource use. Students play roles of voters, candidates, party or group leaders, newspaper reporters, and radio commentators. They participate in bargaining sessions, campaign rallies, opinion polls, and voting. Materials include a teacher's guide, participant guides, and duplicating masters. The game can be used with 14 to 48 players in grades 9-12. It takes 4-5 class sessions to play.

Mr. President. Published by 3-M Company, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Price: $10.95 per game.

Mr. President is a team board game in which the objective is to elect a Presidential candidate. Students play in teams taking on the roles of Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. They use media, voting strength, financial resources, and debate ability to build support in states across the nation. Materials include a game board, various decks of cards, dice for choosing states within major geographical areas in which to campaign, and playing instructions. The game can be used with 4-12 players (depending on how teams divide roles) in grades 9-12, continuing education groups, and civic groups. It takes 2-3 class periods to play.

PERMISSIONS

Chapter 1: Why Vote?

Pages 9-10

Nelson W. Polsby and Aaron B. Wildavsky, *Presidential Elections*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), pp. 193-195. This quotation is reprinted by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers.

Pages 10-11

Gerald M. Pomper, *Elections in America*, (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1968). This quotation is reprinted by permission of Dodd, Mead and Company, Inc. Copyright 1968 by Dodd, Mead and Company, Inc.

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Graph: Effect of Voting Rights Act on Registration of Blacks. From *American Political Behavior*, (Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1972) p. 203, copyright 1972 by Indiana University. Used by permission of Ginn and Company.

Page 14

William C. Mitchell, *Why Vote?* (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971), p. 8. This quote is used by permission of the Markham Publishing Company.

Pages 17-18

Sample Lesson Number One: Three Views of the Impact of Voting on Public Policy. This lesson is taken from Howard D. Mehlinger and John J. Patrick, *American Political Behavior*, (Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1972) pp. 239-240, copyright 1972 by Indiana University. This lesson is used by permission of Ginn and Company.

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Graph: Tuskegee Voter Registration, 1952-1966. The data is from William R. Keech, *The Impact of Negro Voting*, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1968) p. 26. These data are used by permission of Rand McNally and Company.

Pages 19-21

Sample Lesson Number Two: Black Power in Tuskegee. This lesson is taken from Howard D. Mehlinger and John J. Patrick, *American Political Behavior*, (Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1972) pp. 235-238, copyright 1972 by Indiana University. This lesson is used by permission of Ginn and Company.

Chapter 2: Who Should Vote?

Pages 31-32

Daily Herald-Telephone, Bloomington, Indiana, October 5, 1971. This editorial is reprinted with the permission of the *Herald-Telephone*.

Pages 32-33
Greg Dawson, "The Student Vote Issue: Baloney . . ." *Sunday Herald-Times*, Bloomington-Bedford, Indiana, October 17, 1971. This article is reprinted with the permission of the *Herald-Telephone*.

Pages 33-35
The New York Times, November 11, 1971. pp. 1, 26. © 1971 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

Pages 36-38
Sample Lesson Number Three: The Voting Rights of Black People: Using the Law to Change the Law. This lesson is taken from Howard D. Mehlinger and John J. Patrick, *American Political Behavior*, (Lexington, Massachusetts: Ginn and Company, 1972) pp. 201-204, copyright 1972 by Indiana University. This lesson is used by permission of Ginn and Company.

Chapter 3: Patterns of Participation in American Elections

Pages 50-51
"The Slum Voter" *Chicago Sun-Times,* May 24, 1967, is reprinted here by permission of the Associated Press.

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Table 4: Political Party Preferences of Younger and Older Voters, 1971. These data are used by permission of the American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

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Table 5: Political Affiliations by Age Groups, 1968. These data are used by permission of the American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

Page 58
Walter DeVries and V. Lance Tarrance, *The Ticket-Splitters: A New Force in American Politics* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972). This quote is used by permission of the William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Page 59
Table 6: The Wallace Voter in the 1968 Presidential Election. Taken from Seymour Martin and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970), pp. 380–383. Used by permission of Harper & Row and the American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

Page 61
Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970), p. 371. Used by permission of Harper & Row.

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Table 7: Percentage of Votes by Groups in Presidential Elections, 1952-1968. These data are used by permission of the American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

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Table 9: Political Party Identification and Ideological Orientation from *The Political Beliefs of Americans: A Study of Public Opinion,* by Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1968. Used by permission of Rutgers University Press.

Chapter 4: The Political Impact of Young Voters

Page 84

Walter D. Burnham, *Critical Elections and Mainsprings of American Politics*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1970) p. 60. This quotation is used by permission of W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.

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Table 10: New Priorities: How the Young Would Like to See Tax Money Spent. These data are used by permission of the American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

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Table 11: Political Party Preferences of the American Electorate. These data are used by permission of the American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

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Table 12: Young Voters' Political Ideology. These data are used by permission of the American Institute of Public Opinion (The Gallup Poll).

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Table 15: 25 Million New Voters Eligible in '72. These data are reprinted from *U. S. News and World Report*, Copyright 1971, U. S. News and World Report, Inc.

Pages 92-93

Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, *The Real Majority,* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Inc., 1971), p. 314, Copyright 1971, Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, Inc. This quotation is used by permission of Coward, McCann and Geoghegan.

Chapter 5: Effective Political Participation

Pages 109-111

League of Women Voters of the United States, *When You Write to Washington: A Guide for Citizen Action*, Publication Number 349, (Washington, D. C.: League of Women Voters, 1971), pp. 6-7. This quotation is used by permission of The League of Women Voters of the United States. Copies of the publication from which this quote was taken can be obtained from The League, 1730 M Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C. 20036.

Pages 118-120

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